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1. Self-Portrait of Samuel Palmer as a Young Man.
Charcoal, heightened with white.

[*Frontispiece.*

VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM

DEPARTMENT OF ENGRAVING, ILLUSTRATION AND DESIGN

Catalogue of an Exhibition of Drawings, Etchings & Woodcuts by Samuel Palmer and other Disciples of William Blake

October 20—December 31, 1926

WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

BY A. H. PALMER

Author of *The Life of Samuel Palmer*, *The Life of Joseph Wolf*, and *The Life of J. C. Hook, R.A.*

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PREFATORY NOTE

THE Victoria and Albert Museum possesses a fairly large and representative collection of drawings and etchings by Samuel Palmer, and this is mainly due to the large gift made by the late Mrs. Merrick Head in 1919, and to the generosity of Mr. A. H. Palmer and other donors. Some two or three years ago Mr. A. H. Palmer agreed to help in the preparation of an Exhibition which would attempt to show the full scope and influence of his father's work, and to trace its development from the time when Samuel Palmer was closely associated with Blake and Calvert. Mr. A. H. Palmer's enthusiasm and his kindness in lending drawings and prints from his own collection have not only made this Exhibition possible, but have enabled the Museum to produce a Catalogue containing much fresh and authoritative information. All students and admirers of Samuel Palmer's art will be deeply indebted to Mr. A. H. Palmer for the Introduction and Notes which he has generously supplied for this volume. It is a pleasure to be able to state that Mr. Palmer is preparing a new *Life of Samuel Palmer*, from which this Introduction is abridged. Mr. Palmer himself wishes to thank Mr. Martin Hardie and Mr. James Laver, of the Department of Engraving, Illustration and Design, for their help in the actual arrangement and cataloguing of the Exhibition.

ERIC MACLAGAN.

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SOME TRIBUTES TO SAMUEL PALMER

"Such a manifestation of spiritual force absolutely present—though not isolated, as in Blake—has certainly never been united with native landscape-power in the same degree as Palmer's works display; while, when his glorious colouring is abandoned for the practice of etching, the same exceptional unity of soul and sense appears again, with the same rare use of manipulative material. The possessors of his works have what *must* grow in influence, just as the possessors of Blake's creations are beginning to find; but with Palmer the process must be more positive and infinitely more rapid, since, while a specially select artist to the few, he has a realistic side, on which he touches the many, more than Blake can ever do."—D. G. Rossetti in *The Spectator*, February 14, 1883.

"When the Royal Academy say that there is no original etcher in England worthy of being made a member of their body, I point to Samuel Palmer."—Sir F. Seymour Haden, Lectures before the Royal Institution, April 1879. "And there is yet another thing that members of the Royal Academy, jealous of its honour, should not forget while considering the question suggested by this paper, and that is that by persistently refusing till too late to recognize the claims of the great school of English Water-colour painting, it is indirectly responsible for its present decline, and directly responsible for the painful fact that such men as David Cox, Peter de Wint, Copley Fielding, W. Hunt, and Samuel Palmer lived and died outside its walls."—Sir F. Seymour Haden, in a paper read before the Society of Arts, May 30, 1883.

"As for the thoughts which he has to express, they are pure poetry, and come to him from that realm of the imagination which the poets only can find at all, and which they find everywhere. There is more feeling, and insight, and knowledge in one twig drawn by his hand, than in the life's production of many a well-known artist. Words cannot express the qualities of such work as his, but we can say that it unites the ripest and fullest knowledge with the most perfect temper, a temper of patience almost without limit, and of tenderness which is alive to all loveliness, even that which is most lowly and obscure. . . . Rarely has an artist's maturity been so complete. The work of his old age is like a great fine fruit which has been in the sun for many days . . . yet . . . you shall not find the slightest sign that it had hung on the branch too long. . . . 'During twenty years,' I wrote in 1872, 'Samuel Palmer's work has become for me more and more beautiful, more and more abundantly satisfying. It is so tender as to remind us of all that is softest and sweetest in the heart of pastoral nature, and yet so learned that it seems as if some angel had met the artist in his studious solitude, and taught him.'"—P. G. Hamerton, *Etching and Etchers*, p. 255, 1880 edition.

INTRODUCTION

SAMUEL PALMER, PAINTER AND ETCHER

By A. H. PALMER

Author of *The Life of Samuel Palmer* [1892], *The Life of Joseph Wolf, F.Z.S.*, and a *Life of J. C. Hook, R.A.*

The subject of this sketch was born at Surrey Square, Walworth, on the 27th of January 1805. To the disgust of well-to-do kindred, the father was then trading as a bookseller; but he was entirely indifferent to nearly all the usual objects of money-making. Judging from his extraordinary letters we see that his mind resembled a trawl let down at random into the vast ocean of facts; sometimes on barren shoals; sometimes into illimitable depths; more rarely upon some teeming bank, yet the results were never marketed.

His first-born entirely ignored all childish things; and, after a few tearful days at Merchant Taylors' School, he was to be found at home again, "purring in a chair by the fire," like the poet Gray. His father's society fully sufficed him; and between them an indestructible foundation was laid for failure in most matters which are considered essential to success. By epigram, quotation and example, he was taught that to differ from other people and to eschew the universal foibles of human nature, was wise and meritorious. Almost daily he had to repeat—"Custom is the plague of wise men and the idol of fools."

The Nonconformist parents, apparently, allowed their boy to go his own way in religion. He was related to Archbishop Wake; and his more modern forefathers had been prosperous country rectors.[1] So perhaps it was heredity which gave little Sam such

[1] The genealogy of Samuel Palmer's family is given in Dr. Butler's *Stemmata Chicheleana*, Clarendon Press, 1765.

a passion for the Church that much of his father's stationery was wasted in strenuous attempts to draw her ancient splendours in architecture. All this was misinterpreted by his mother as a taste for art,[1] and a drawing master, Mr. Wate, was provided.

Migrating to No. 10, Broad Street, Bloomsbury, after his wife's death, my grandfather continued his business. At the age of fourteen his son sold at the British Institution a *Landscape Composition.* Between 1819 and 1824, inclusive, he exhibited there seven other landscapes, besides several at the Royal Academy, and a study of a head. One of the Institution pictures (40 by 36) was catalogued as *Hailsham, Sussex: Storm coming on.* The broad, vivid, first sketch, exhibited here (No. 49), was a very bold promise, but one more than fulfilled.

After the death of Mr. George Richmond, R.A., I received, by his wish, one of the pocket-books which were the most intimate, perhaps the only, confidants of my father's youth; and, surely, there was never a stranger diary. The volume was begun at Broad Street in 1824, and thus he writes:—"It is now twenty months since you began to draw. Your second trial begins . . . " This refers to figure-drawing, then the source of his greatest trials and solicitude and of his greatest failures.[2] He tells how his misadventures ended by his falling "headlong into the pit of modern art." But "it pleased God to send Mr. Linnell as a good angel from Heaven" to pluck him from the pit. This notable event was, I think, about September 1822.

My grandfather, John Linnell, was then a veteran teacher. He taught Wainewright, the poisoner. He taught the author of *Vathek*; and he taught the son of Godwin's second wife, with whom he fell out over ten shillings.

Judging from a vivid recollection of John Linnell's intensely energetic, clear-headed personality; from much that he wrote on art, and from the performances of his children, I think that he must

[1] She treasured one of his earliest sketches and wrote her name on the back of it. There is no trace of aptitude or the all-important power of observation. (See No. 45.)

[2] In the preceding volume was a rough sketch of St. Christopher, with the words:—"My first attempt at figure drawing 1823," that is, when he was eighteen years old, a year younger than Wilkie when he painted his *Pitlessie Fair.*

have been exceptionally successful in teaching. He spoke and wrote always to the point and what he believed to be true, even when truth was unpalatable. His words were simple, vigorous and well chosen. Sometimes they were violent. The value of his influence, at the time of the lad's bewilderment and depression, must have been immense. But he was labouring beyond the capacity of most men, and had no spare time; so he adjured Palmer to study the figure seriously, and to study Albert Dürer, and then left him. But how could an impecunious youth, by nature as futile in all practical matters as his father, set about drawing the figure? All the best resources were closed against him. He drifted to the British Museum and away again, not a whit the better for what he did there.

In the 1824 sketch-book (No. 50) the figures are sometimes ridiculous, but the imagination and originality, though sometimes riotous, are promising. They are in close companionship with careful analysis of Nature's detail (especially of trees); and they tend, with other evidence, to prove the truth of Edgar Allan Poe's words: "The truly imaginative are never otherwise than analytic."

Strange, sometimes grotesque, is the purview of this 1824 workmanship; showing, here and there, the influence of Blake, himself not yet seen by the designer. From careful studies of a cheap bedroom window-curtain on its rod, and a leaf of cottager's kale, we turn to a wild flight of spirits across the disc of a planet. There are thirty-three moons in this one volume, and vast flaming suns; but never a cast shadow from beginning to end. There are noble abbeys and palaces and, as backgrounds for figures, lofty lancet windows; but, above all these, the designer glories in "The Primitive Cottage," as he calls it; nestling with its dove-cote and its mighty thatch, by brooks, in dells, and sometimes by a rumbling water-mill. "*Whatever you do*," writes the designer, "*guard against bleakness and grandeur, and try for the primitive cottage feeling.*" To the end of a life condemned, mainly, to just the opposite, this feeling dwelt with him.

Apparently one result of the teaching of Mr. Wate, his drawing master, was a series of small sepia or bistre landscapes,

such as the example now exhibited (No. 48) with a deprecatory inscription behind it. The subject is an ancient cottage. The treatment is such as to annihilate every atom of the "primitive cottage feeling," so fascinating in the far ruder but far more inspired work of the 1824 book. Which road would be followed?

It was on an October evening in 1824 that Samuel Palmer followed John Linnell from the uproar of the Strand into the squalid, yet splendid, kingdom of William Blake. Palmer was already prepared and attuned by an admiration of Blake's work to a degree far beyond the enthusiasm of others who frequented Blake's work-room. The old man, gazing at him with eyes said to have been peerless, must not only have seen adoration in the eyes of the other; but, by his own piercing gaze, have accepted an allegiance which was destined to be lifelong. It has been written that Blake's "feeling of personal dignity was, next to his love of Art and Vision, the ruling passion of his life." Also that he had "few if any real disciples." Surely here, for the first time, seemed to be a real disciple; for here was one who would be faithful, affectionate, and loyal till death—full of an intense desire to learn what he knew Blake alone could teach him. It might almost be said that he left all to follow his Master.

He had been ill at ease in mind and body for some time; but he went forth from those enchanted rooms himself enchanted. For this change in my father I think modern science has, perhaps, provided some explanation. No one else was affected by Blake in the same way, to the same extent, or so permanently. No one else ever kissed Blake's bell-handle before venturing to pull it. No one could imagine Palmer arguing with Blake as Richmond did.[1]

There is no doubt as to Blake's influence upon my father's early art in certain directions, but some persons may have thought that because Calvert was six years older than Palmer and was a most accomplished and imaginative painter before they met, part

[1] At the date given by Palmer for this visit, Blake was at work on the plates for *The Book of Illustrations for the History of Job*, for which he was receiving payment from Linnell at the rate of one pound and fivepence a week. This is shown by the original account-book in which each payment is initialled by the engraver.

of that early work was influenced by the wonderful West-country man's. Calvert, however, did not leave Plymouth for London till the close of 1824. By that time eight works had been exhibited by Palmer at the Royal Academy, and seven at the British Institution. The dates on Calvert's engravings show that they were done when he may have been as much attracted by the contents of the 1824 book and its fellows as Richmond himself. Here and there in his exquisite little landscape backgrounds are features suggestive of some mannerisms to be found in that book. Their parentage may be traced, perhaps, to Fletcher's *Faithful Shepherdess*.[1] Palmer's fervid praise of Calvert's *Cyder Feast* showed how clearly he recognised his friend's supremacy in poetic art.[2]

At last my father's austerely business-like "Uncle Nat" lost patience with his brother. Samuel, the bookseller, must either live once more the life of a gentleman of leisure, and live a widower, or forfeit his allowance. His son's health grew worse. Even the walks and talks with Blake made no amends for the rumbling roar of traffic, for the stench of graveyards and drains, the dense swarms of flies, or the fogs so dreaded by artists in those days of feeble oil-lamps and tallow dips.

Father and son were next to be seen exploring the quiet nooks of an old walled garden, and an orchard sloping to the shady banks of one of the loveliest streams in the South of England. With very different ideals in view, they had rented the old place still known as "Waterhouse," close to the bridge in the Kentish village of Shoreham. For the father there were memories of John Wesley (the friend of a former vicar) and village chapels. For the son there were hop and fruit gardens, mighty oaken barns and threshing floors, and water-meadows through which the river Darent wound its way to the haunted ruin of the castle. It was there, perhaps, that my father's enthusiastic and lifelong love of the supernatural was matured; and with it his contemptuous hatred of modern scepticism.[3]

[1] See *Life and Letters of Samuel Palmer*, 1892, page 18.
[2] See *Life and Letters of Samuel Palmer*, 1892, page 29.
[3] See *Life and Letters of Samuel Palmer*, 1892, pp. 40, 41.

In those days this village was still remote enough from the main road and from London to possess what my father called "pastoral essence"—the essence of a far more primitive time in tradition, superstition and simplicity. The old folks had strange tales to tell after nightfall. In this village began the most important and beneficent era of Samuel Palmer's whole life. Here was perfected his most characteristic art; and, as some believe to this day, the most poetic part of it. Here, also, was continued his analysis of nature.

To the brotherhood known as the "Ancients," Calvert's London home became a place of superlatively powerful attractions; but in the country, "Waterhouse" was the headquarters of the coterie. Besides the younger Palmer, the members were Edward Calvert, F. O. Finch (the friend of my father's boyhood), John Giles, George Richmond and Henry Walter. All were painters but Giles, a burly stockbroker, but by nature saturated with an intense love of antiquity and of the ideals which bound the friends together.

Even John Linnell, who had nothing to do with the fraternity, was rejoiced to spend a few days in the valley. He was always working under forced draught, keeping up his furious energy by means of much good wine and home-brewed ale, and by oxygen gas, Priestley's discovery, then sold in bottles by druggists under the name of "Vital Air." But he was perpetually hindered and worried by domestic matters, and he had broken down at last. Too weak to walk, he was transferred by Richmond and Palmer from the coach to a wheelbarrow, in which he was trundled to the village and all about it. The "Ancients'" friends and kindred also foregathered at "Waterhouse," and it seems that even Blake himself was the Palmers' guest. How he and my father figured together in a case of alleged telepathy, before reliable witnesses, is told in the *Memoir of Edward Calvert.*

The strong appeal of Palmer's Shoreham oil subjects and a few water-colours, is largely due to his intense affection for the cool, quiet close of the summer day, and what, perhaps, he loved even more, "perfumed and enchanted twilight." As early as 1824, he

had exhibited at the Royal Academy a *Landscape, Twilight*, and for the last of all his works he chose the same hour. Many were the twilights of his art and his reveries in the interval. Among the best of the Shoreham pictures were *The Gleaning Field; Twilight, Orange Sky* (No. 65); *Ruth Returned from Gleaning* (No. 58); and *The Bright Cloud* (see No. 112).

It was my father's early study of foregrounds which led to his discovery, in a field near London, of the splendour of light transmitted by a low sun through foliage. Even then he was not daunted by the immense difficulties involved. An example will be found here in *The Deserted Villa, Evening in Italy* [1845] (No. 99). It was painted with intensity of sad reminiscence, and was given to his wife in memory of their brief happiness.

The original letter from Mr. Richmond to my father, with tidings of Blake's death, is exhibited (No. 11). Thanks to the most kind trouble taken by Linnell on the widow's account, the funeral was a seemly one, though quite plain, as may be seen in the detailed undertaker's bill.

Samuel Palmer's admiration for Blake's character and genius generally had kept pace with his great personal affection; but that admiration was not so unconditional and sweeping as some of modern date. Nor would it have been influenced by any such fashion as that which appears to be raging again while I write these words. I am certain that if the great modern array of Blake interpreters and enthusiasts had come into existence half a century earlier than they did, Palmer would have preserved all his affection, all his enthusiasm, all that Blake taught him, but would not have been found in those ranks. He became Blake's enthusiastic disciple for life (much to his own worldly detriment) when the old engraver and his Kate were living on one pound and five pence a week, old, neglected, and except by a few, half forgotten.

After Blake's death the "Ancients" still clave to their strange habits, upon which Richmond had been grafting, with all his energy, the training of the Royal Academy Schools. Judging by certain clever caricatures of each other, and by their reminiscences, they were far from taking themselves or other people too seriously,

and they sharpened their wit at each other's expense. The possible exception was Calvert, who, according to his son, seemed to expect very different and sometimes most punctilious treatment.

It is hard to see what career Palmer proposed for himself when he wrote to Richmond as follows in 1828.[1] He probably referred to the cost of his scheme for a visit to Italy, in order to make copies for engraving at home :—" I will not infringe a penny on the money God has given me beyond the interest . . . By God's help I will not sell his precious gift of art for money ; no nor for fame neither . . . Mr. Linnell tells me that by making studies of the Shoreham scenery I could make a thousand a year directly. Though I am making studies for Mr. Linnell I will not be a naturalist by profession."

To this letter Richmond sent a long reply, dated at Calais on the 19th of November 1828. The following is an extract :—

> " I have sat down at last to thank you for your kind letter, which gave me as much pleasure and I may add instruction as any book I ever read. . . . I will give you a total of my life over here by which you will be able to judge whether I have spent my time well or ill. I have since my arrival which was on the 12th of August finished . . . a portrait of Mr. Waters, life size 7 Miniatures 1 Drawing and sundry sketches &c. &c. (but none from nature) I have also in hand a small Portrait of myself on Panel with a design—and 4 paintings on glass feet 2½ high. Which I am doing for a room of Mr. W. I fear you will say this is poor work for three Months (I plead guilty) but must be begged to say that though late I have reformed and am now working very hard ; and do intend should I go to *Paris* to devote myself entirely to Art. . . . Nor do I know that I should visit that Capital were it not in hopes to make it the stepping-stone to Italy. for my finances are at present very much too circumscribed to allow me to take such a journey. . . . From here I expect to take between 20 & 30 pounds now if I can at Paris increase it to 50£ I will set out for Italy. . . . I think if two went it might be safely undertaken for 90£ for which sum *we* might live there for six or eight months including travelling expenses. O what a spur to my industry would it be if you equipped in the way you described were ready to start for the South. . . . When in Italy a frank a day would be plenty [to live

[1] Not in 1829, as stated in *Life and Letters of Samuel Palmer*, 1892, p. 45.

on] I can say very little in favour of the expedition that has not been already said by yourself. . . . I will tell you how heartily sick I am of this place. It is I think without exception the *dirtyest. flattest. most stinking and unsentimental place* I ever was in—but I hope in a fortnight to bid adieu to it and its accompanyments of *monkeys.* English *vagabonds* & Weavers which form the population.

"I think if I were living here by myself [he was living with his employer] I should either die melancholy mad or be found drowned in one of the numerous putrid moates. . . . I was delighted to hear of your inflexibility about [studying] the Figure for though it is certain *you will not* any more than *Mr. Blake* get a thousand a year by it yet you will have what he had a contentment in your own mind such as gold cannot purchase—or flimsy praise procure. Mr. Linnell is an extraordinary man but he is not a Mr. Blake. . . ."

Surely this letter brought home to my father, suddenly and forcibly, that he himself could show no such record of dogged industry and self-denial. Even the easy-going, kindly old man of "Waterhouse" seems to have been perturbed, at last, about his son's career. In a letter to Linnell he alluded to a scheme for finding some situation as an engraver. The upshot was that, in 1833, my father left the village and settled down in his own little house, in what he called the "pigsty neighbourhood" of Lisson Grove. Already he had depended on teaching for the money he despised.

In 1831 Mr. Richmond (having borrowed £40 from Palmer) had eloped to Gretna with Julia Tatham, her father notwithstanding. By astounding labour in France and at home, by his wonderful voice, and by cultivation of assurance and other social qualities, he had prepared the way for "Art—glorious Art," as he called it; but, apparently, not for the art of a portrait-painter exclusively. Therefore, by 1837, he was able to reconsider the Italian journey in a totally different way from the original plan, as discussed in the Calais letter.

Palmer was now a veteran sketcher from nature and was well equipped for a far more profitable scheme than the old one. But he lacked three essentials: money, "common sense" and adaptability. His father's early teaching was destined to bear a record crop.

His poor old nurse, Mary Ward, kissed him goodbye with her last strength, and blessed him with her last whisper. As he closed those loving eyes, the sole remaining link with the old joyous life was severed. In his turn he borrowed money from Richmond, and was afterwards married to John Linnell's eldest child, Hannah. On the 12th October, 1837, the steamer "Lord Melville" deposited on French soil the two friends, their wives, and little Tommy Richmond. They all rejoiced in the long overland journey by *voiture* and in the adventure of a fresh inn every evening, but none so much as Hannah, the Bayswater prisoner, escaped from her mother's perpetual surveillance and amateur doctoring.

From this time onwards, for two years, Palmer's story is told most graphically, with rich variety of cross purposes, and a peppering of Linnellian acrimony, in the correspondence between Bayswater and Italy. So far as one of Palmer's objectives was concerned,—outdoor work in the country,—the whole expedition was nearly wrecked by Linnell and his wife, who appeared to have no intention of resigning their control over their daughter.

It is characteristic that Palmer had prepared his appalling costume for the distinguished Roman society to which he hoped his work would appeal, precisely as he had prepared it for the British sketching tour during which Cope and Redgrave mistook him for a pedlar.[1] He had no letters of introduction. Richmond

[1] "It was during a tour in Wales (either in 1835 or 1843) that my father [Richard Redgrave] and Cope first made acquaintance with Samuel Palmer the water-colour painter. They were sitting miserably enough round the inn fire, one sadly rainy day, when they saw a figure approaching the inn door, very wet, and very strangely clothed. They first took him for a pedlar, but the pedlar turned out to be a painter; his wares, pack, etc., were arrangements devised by himself for storing his whole painting apparatus, clothes, and necessaries of travel upon his own person." (*Memoir of Mr. Richard Redgrave, C.B., R.A.*, by Miss Redgrave.)

Thus were laid the foundations of three lifelong friendships. When Fate had kicked and buffeted Palmer into a small Kensington villa, he found himself close to these two friends. Each of them was an etcher, and it was probably through one of them that he ventured to offer himself for election by that much criticised, and, after the revival of real etching, much despised coterie of friends, the Etching Club. With what qualms of self abasement he did so, and how he rejoiced when he was elected in February 1850, only those who knew the story of the dark years of disillusionment since 1839 could realise. Indeed it may be asserted that, to him, the membership meant infinitely more than it did to any other member of the coterie, even more than the membership of the Society of Painters

had many ; and so the two friends drifted apart, one of them an " Ancient " no longer, and concerned no longer with feats of economy. With that economy Palmer was more concerned than ever. In a letter written to Bayswater with the hyperbole which, as he knew at the time, Linnell and his wife never understood but always resented, he bewailed his own and his wife's ostracism. But he also referred to the cordiality and kindness of some of the notable Roman artists.

The humiliating and penurious shifts and expedients, the hardships and sometimes the danger, cheerily borne in the wanderings, and the incessant labour of those two diminutive, but physically and morally courageous, people, cannot be touched on here. Nor can the catastrophes which resulted from a commission for certain coloured copies given by Linnell to his daughter, the price being apologetically settled by her husband at six shillings and ninepence each.

It was with tears in his eyes that my father turned for the last glimpse of the land where he said he left his heart. A pencil note in his passport shows, to this day, that he knew it was the last glimpse. He also wrote " Hail Railroads ! Hail ! "—a prophetic lament for the England he had loved ; the land of the " primitive cottage " and the true village, and the beautiful, rude crafts which flourished when progress was not.

With courage as yet unimpaired, the travellers settled down at Grove Street ; he, bent on resuming work as an *oil-painter* of poetic landscape ; she, upon continuing her beloved artistic career. The water-colour studies he brought back with him met with most enthusiastic approval, professional, critical, and otherwise ; especially his trees, such as the *Cypresses of the Villa D'Este* (No. 92).[1]

in Water Colours. This was partly because of the high artistic standing of his friends among the etchers, together with the qualities which made their society supremely fascinating ; and partly because of his immediate devotion to an art the fascination of which steadily increased to the last weeks of his life.

He might have written in the fifties, as he wrote many years afterwards, of the joy with which he would throw his painting materials out of window, provided etching could be made sufficiently remunerative for his Blake-like ideal of an artist's life.—A.H.P.

[1] For Ruskin's cordial commendation, see No. 92. In the so-called *Life of John Linnell*, the passage is deliberately tampered with (partly by altering the punctuation), to that painter's benefit and Palmer's detriment. (See Vol. 2, page 53, and Vol. 1, page 94.)—A.H.P.

With a few exceptions, Palmer's oil-pictures, painted at this period, seem to have been bewitched—to have suffered from some evil influence. One cannot conceive how the worst of them could have been painted by the same man who had created *The Gleaning Field*. The solution seems to be that he was not the same man. The reason, I think, is not far to seek. That his peace of mind had fled is proved by a miserable memorandum written, among his items of receipt and expenditure, as early as 1840 :—" Supposing lessons stop and nothing more is earned, avoid snuff, two candles, sugar in tea, waste of butter and soap. But it is more difficult to get than to save."

Drifting more and more into water-colour practice, in 1843 Palmer was elected Associate of the Old Society. In 1842 a son was born and named " Thomas More," after the man whose portrait had helped " to frown vice and infidelity " out of " Rat Abbey," my father's first retreat at Shoreham. A daughter followed in 1844, and lived several happy years. Then her life was just muddled away. The bereaved parents fled to Kensington, and ultimately settled in a small ugly villa, No. 6, Douro Place, near the Riding School. It was semi-detached from the piano of an ultra-modern, geranium-growing family next door. So vigorously did the neighbours protest against the weeds allowed to mature as lessons to pupils, that there was no resource but the scythe. A sketch of the " soft clusters " can be seen here (No. 109). There was no room really fit for painting, and the space for the pupils' crinolines was inadequate.

Palmer had already written of pitifully small economies. Now we find him, clutched firmly in society's grip, bewailing the cost of two efficient, grown-up servants, evening parties, and social amenities generally. The following letter from the great energizer who had laboured for three revolting months at Calais to earn £30, and whose grown-up daughters were now Palmer's pupils, is significant of true, faithful friendship :—

" 10 York Street Jan: 26. 1847. My dear Palmer,

" Many thanks for your good wishes on the event of our anniversary, and also for your invitation for Wednesday next which I

accept with pleasure and believe me that I will excuse all things but your asking me to excuse anything do you remember who lent me £40 to get married with who gave me and mine a home at Shoreham when such a welcome and house were most needed, and think you my dear Palmer that the kind friend who has done all this and much more is the one to ask me to excuse 'the roughness of things.' I will take your rebuke as if you had meant it (although I know you have not) and try to live in a large house as if I had none. Ever my dear Palmer

Yours affec[t] friend Geo: Richmond."

The Kensington era can be divided into a few simple heads; but some of them involved problems which were paralyzing. It was now that Palmer made many permanent friends among the artists and otherwise. Probably it was partly for this reason that among all the incidents of an anxious period he could look back to one, at all events, with keen delight. This was his election, in 1850, as a member of the Etching Club. Modern criticism and modern fashion have brought to light the general futility of this little coterie in its unreformed, pre-Haden years. Nevertheless, some of those etchers were not only in the first rank of European painters and draughtsmen, but were distinguished Royal Academicians and members of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood. Nowadays, it is evidently necessary to concede that before Haden took the members of the Club in hand, endeavouring to interest them and to teach them the true craft, they were not etchers at all. To the enquiring mind it may occur that, although in the days of the members' ignorance and unregeneracy, there was a tendency on their part to consider from many points of view why an etching was to be done, Haden taught them to consider chiefly how it should be done; and more especially how swiftly. He also essayed to teach them finance. He asserted that he should be paid as much for a plate which took him hours, as another member received for one which had been, perhaps, ripened for weeks, or even for months. The result of these activities on his part is well known.

None of the early members depended on artificial printing; but it has been clearly pointed out, even by Haden himself, that he depended very greatly on the help of the greatest of printers. The

old members sometimes even descended to "sentiment," and my father was greatly charmed with Townsend's *Shadowy Flail.* Of Claude's etchings he was vehemently enamoured ; and to pick one up, now and then, was always a notable event in his life.

I think there is a strong reason for believing that he was not a mere tyro when he etched, from a water-colour sketch, his probationary plate *The Willow.* In this there was no attempt at embodying what he explained afterwards as his real aim in etching. His next plates were very different. They were received with enthusiasm by the public and by his fellow artists, Linnell always excepted. That approval has stood the test of the most extreme ups and downs of Art for seventy-five years.

The greatest authorities on the etchings of Samuel Palmer (including the collector's point of view) are Sir Frank Short, R.A., P.R.E., R.I., Mr. F. L. Griggs, A.R.A., R.E., and Mr. Martin Hardie, R.I., R.E. They have not confined themselves to words, but have spent time and trouble lavishly, even with their own hands, at the press. Thus, they have not only done more to express their approval of my father's etched work than any other person before or after his death, but have done it with disinterested kindness almost beyond belief.

It was at Kensington that the "Ancient" who had refused to sell the precious gift of Art for money began to covet money earnestly that he might spend it on his elder son's education. His principles in art began to waver. He altered his colouring to Quaker sobriety and back again to its normal richness. In subject he varied from *The Approach of Dinner* [1851] to the *Approach of the Lady to the Palace of Comus* [1855]. He sought to "awaken sympathy" by painting what he loved, but sympathy snored on. Then he thought that "close imitation" would cause delight. A little later he must "strike at once into a new style," involving "broad, rapid execution." He asks "Why do I wish for a new style?" The answer, written by the Shoreham dreamer of dreams, was, "To save time"! He also wrote: "A painter must use his utmost energy to *move* the public but he never can quite foresee the direction of the movement." The dealers could

have advised him on this subject with profit to themselves; but few came near, and those with offers almost insulting.

In 1854 he became a full Member of the Old Water Colour Society. Meanwhile, the chief cause of all this indecision, More Palmer, was becoming his father's chief solace and companion, even to the extent of sharing a sketching-tour in Cornwall.

There came a time when the delicate, overworked lad sorely needed mental and physical rest. In May 1861, he and his mother (perforce taking me with them), settled down at High Ashes Farm on the western slope of Leith Hill. Palmer, miserably unwell himself, and sorely troubled in mind, wrote to his wife :—"O my poor work . . . guineas are being lost by hundreds in losing the spring."[1]

Presently the outlook seemed brighter. My father and brother were strolling together, watching or sketching the farm incidents. Here, perhaps, in the midst of bucolic life and pretty scenery, fresh subjects might be found and fresh happiness. A little later, the doctor dragged the poor, crushed, quivering wreck, that was once the merriest of the "Ancients," from the body of his dead boy.[2] He was driven away at once, never to see the grave at Abinger.[3]

The story of the life, utterly devastated by remorse and grief; of the intellect stupefied by agony; of faith shaken to its foundations, begins at "Furze Hill House," near Reigate, and almost within a stroll of my grandfather Linnell's "Redstone Wood."

Of all the blunders of my father's career, none was greater, so far as he himself was concerned, than the choice of a new home so close to the famous despot and almost incredibly unpacific painter of peaceful and beautiful landscape. This was a man who would turn from such subjects as *Sweet fa's the Eve*, or *Sheep Reposing*,

[1] Incidentally, he gave orders that I (then eight years old) was on no account to play with the country children; and that, to guard against sunstroke, I was to carry a parasol.

[2] That honourable and gifted man my uncle, James T. Linnell, allowed my father to break the journey to London for a short time at his house.

[3] It was then that the extreme kindness of Mr. Redgrave and his family not only helped and consoled my mother, but laid the foundation of a friendship which has lasted to this day, in spite of the ravages of time.

dash down his brushes and plunge into an uproar of protest, downstairs, about a railroad overcharge of a shilling on a picture-case. No visitor, standing before his easel, could be sure that the painter would not begin to roar denunciations of his or her supposed religious opinions, and Miss Redgrave told me that she feared this habit.

It was not until lately that I found, among the papers relating to my grandfather's so-called *Life*, a careful summary of my father's attributes, evidently intended for use in that book, then being prepared in secrecy. The document was drawn up by the painter's eldest son (without whom not a chapter could have been written) probably under the orders of a younger brother. It partly accounts for early events relating to Palmer's intercourse with Linnell. It entirely accounts for much that followed the deplorable settlement at Reigate.[1] He is described as "Having a mind too fanciful and wild; extravagant; *not controlled sufficiently by reality and sober truth;*" as "indulging in fanciful sentiment;" and of "*living in an atmosphere of sentiment, imagination and feeling not always in touch with truth and real fact.* His sentimental state of mind (called by some poetical?!!) leads him to descriptions that are partly fictitious, mixed with humour &c." It did not occur to the writer that, in condemning Blake's disciple, he also condemned Blake himself.

Furze Hill House was a stone villa, ornate inside and outside. It was isolated and quiet, and was perched high on the Reigate sand-range. Nightingales and other birds sang and nested in the hedges; but the barren, arid soil was unkind save to the vipers, the wasps'-nests and the rabbits. Just below was "Mead Hole," re-named by the jerry-builder who had smothered it with stucco and brick, "Mead Vale." Mr. Cope, at his first visit, looked down at this horror and directed his next letter to "Housemaid Vale."

After a visit to Berrynarbor, my father had written, "Never forget the charm of running water;" and among his most treasured reminiscences were the cool spring, the trill of the brook,

[1] From 1861 to the day of his death, S.P. lived in the ancient parish of Reigate. It was decreed that, for postal purposes, the words "Red Hill" must be substituted, but he did not live in that revolting place.

the solemn, soothing voice of the waterfall. Here the only glint of water visible in the flat, prosaic landscape came from a sewage farm. The place was, in fact, almost an epitome of what he had loathed from his youth, and had warned himself to avoid in art. From "bleakness and grandeur" he looked down upon a great, "mappy" and apparently waterless landscape.

Once more there was no possibility of a painting-room; so, in deep disgust, he fortified for his own retreat a little citadel, perhaps about fifteen feet square, in which he lived and worked (with whitened windows) for nineteen years—nineteen years in which his gorge rose more and more against the neighbourhood and the present, and his mind clung, more and more lovingly, to the past. He wrote to his especial favourite, Miss Redgrave, ". . . Conceive if you can of the stagnation here . . . the creeping hours are the more weary as each creeps along with a hod of mortar on her shoulders to multiply hideous slate-roofed villas . . ."

In his citadel he secured what was absolutely essential to his work, his "little charmed circle of quiet," as he called it. Only very few, even of his most intimate friends, were suffered to enter. All these understood that the makeshift shabbiness and ramshackle expedients were a counterblast against the velvet-pile carpets, the trim maids, and the fal-lals outside that door.

Apparently nothing could have been more fatal to Palmer's future achievements in poetic art than his present fate and environment. All hope seemed to be gone, all joy, and what was much more serious for him, all incentive. It must be remembered that he was now one whose visible and external resources were, compared with those of the average professional man—compared with those of his own artist friends, such as Mr. Hook—exceedingly few. His occasional evening recreations were sometimes arithmetic, and especially perspective, and later he was delighted to go over the problems which I brought from the Academy lectures. He had no personal hobbies. His corporeal comforts were his snuffbox and "churchwarden" pipe. Latterly he went abroad only under strong protest. But his intellectual resources were inexhaustible. Directly the manual part of his work was over he "sprang upon

his books," or upon the current Reviews and the "Saturday Reviler." These added a delicious tang and plenty of subjects for discussion at the regular weekly visits of two intimate friends, first as schoolboys, then, respectively, as a clergyman and a Fellow of an Oxford College.

It was entirely due to Linnell's liberal settlement on his five daughters that the Milton Series of drawings became possible. Once more in his life my father ceased to concern himelf about the flight of time, and so he lost heavily by the commission, but added materially to a knowledge of human nature which was very far from being extensive or correct.[1] The preliminary designs are exhibited here (Nos. 152–157). They were not intended for "Day's garish eye," but were always ripened, touch by touch, by the light of one small oil-lamp, not too close. His finished water-colour drawings were always carefully reviewed by him at night, when his only light was the feeble glimmer of a solitary tallow "dip."

When Samuel Palmer's hope in this world was, apparently, stamped out, a spark or two escaped and gradually took the risky, beguiling form of authorship, based on an old hobby, and a still older enthusiasm for the pen. The result was the elaborated and re-elaborated manuscript of his *English Version of the Eclogues of Virgil*. In this he strove most earnestly to retain that wonderful thing, "the pastoral essence." Next came the series of small designs now exhibited (Nos. 134–151). Last of all, came the vision, vivid and entrancing, of ten little etchings. It would have been a mere matter of ten days, or so, to a swift *Agamemnon* needle. But this was a man who wrote :—"An artist dares NOT flinch from his own conception." I think that only the great, poetic etcher of beautiful old Campden has fully succeeded in imagining what these conceptions of the Virgil etchings are ; how my father approached the work, and what he meant when he

[1] The attitude of his employer had altered from pure enthusiasm for Art to that of a shrewd investor. In the course of replying to one letter asking for a reduction in price, my father wrote :—"I think you will feel that in the *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso* drawings, done in fact at half price, the commercial balance is vastly in your favour. I loved the subjects and was willing to be a loser in all but the higher matters of Art and friendship."

wrote (touching etching) of "matter aggregated within matter till the copper looks as large as a half-length canvas."

The spectre of the hide-bound, printing-press mechanic was still a menace; such as the man who told Mr. Hook that he would sooner see the Devil himself than Palmer with a plate to prove. It was that glorious craftsman, Frederick Goulding, who irradiated my father's last days with joy, and plucked him from grotesque disaster. With a shrug and a grin he dismissed Hamerton's eulogy of his own wonderful printing and his wonderful portmanteau press. At different times he ordered my father's two private presses, one for Furze Hill, and the other for my use in London. Also he gave me a series of lessons so remarkable for generosity and ability that my father, sure at last of having his ideals and directions carried out at the press, resumed the needle with even more of the old rapture.

The ban put upon his etching (and that of one or two other members) by Sir Francis Seymour Haden, in the joyous task of wrecking the old Etching Club for his own advantage, was forgotten in the cordial reception of *Opening the Fold*, one of the illustrations for the Eighth Eclogue.

Intensely soothed by the presence, so close to him, of his precious press, my father began the design for the sixth *Eclogue*. The chiaroscuro "blot," also exhibited here (No. 143), shows that the subject was to have been one of those dearest to him; a serene and solemn twilight sky and the Evening Star reflected in an "ancient river." This was the last work which his hand touched. It was the third time, in a life of much disillusionment and grief, that he had patiently built himself a great edifice of hope. Each time it fell, and great was the fall of it. At that very moment when, according to some, his imagination was most fruitful, at the very time when the intense desire of many years seemed near fruition, the summons came. On the 24th of May 1881 he died.

One especial feature of the story which I have endeavoured to sketch should be considered. It was by accident, apparent misadventure, or by the "chance" which Richmond and Palmer would have called Providence, that my father was vouchsafed some

of the opportunities for his most congenial and (except from a commercial point of view) most successful work.

His father, though one of a family who were devoted to worldly advancement and " position," attached so little value to either, that he sheltered his son under his roof till manhood without a word as to the future. It was by misadventure and want of the money which he despised, that my father was shut completely off from all the resources of more fortunate students; thus diverting the whole course of his artistic life. It was by chance that, through the ukase of a cold, rich, business-like brother, my grandfather Palmer desisted from his father's petty trade and retreated to the only village, out of many in the neighbourhood, where his son's character and art could ripen. It was by means of the peace resulting from the ostracism which he bewailed that my father was able to infuse into his Roman studies the romance and the pathos which afterwards found expression in such drawings as *The Fall of Empire* [1871] and *A Golden City* [1873].

It was the death of his baby daughter which drove him to Kensington, thereby creating lasting friendships till death with good and great and true men; also the opportunity of practising that Art by which he is best known.

It was under the final lash from the Great Overseer that he shrank, broken and undone for life, to a solitary refuge, but one where he saw some of his noblest visions, and dreamed at least a few of his most entrancing dreams.

A. H. PALMER.

Vancouver, British Columbia.
August, 1926.

Valedictory Note:—I cannot close this biographical sketch dealing with John Linnell and Samuel Palmer (once cordial friends, who might have remained so but for certain influences), without endeavouring to say how much I am indebted to my cousin, Mr. Herbert Linnell. It was through his kindness, that I have had the opportunity of exploring the immense mass of our grandfather's papers, never explored before effectually, in some cases, apparently, even by himself. For the troublesome work of sending me the material which I have mentioned, I have to thank my cousin, Mr. Gerald Linnell. As I shall never see any of these relatives again, I desire to add that as to the surpassing excellence and beauty of John Linnell's best work, and as to the splendid points in his character, I am quite as enthusiastic as they are themselves.

A. H. PALMER.

CATALOGUE

DRAWINGS BY SAMUEL PALMER'S FRIENDS, AND HISTORICAL EXHIBITS

SAMUEL PALMER (1805-1881)

1. Self-portrait of Samuel Palmer, as a young man. (*Frontispiece.*)
Charcoal, heightened with white. (11¼×9⅛)
Lent by A. H. Palmer, Esq.

HENRY WALTER (1790-1849)

2. Portrait of Samuel Palmer at the age of 14.
Signed H. Walter, July 20, 1819.
Pencil. Size of sheet (11¼×9).
Lent by A. H. Palmer, Esq.

GEORGE RICHMOND (1809-1896)

3. Portrait of Samuel Palmer, half-length, head turned slightly to the right.
Pen, touched with white. (7¼×6¼) E. 1298—1925.
Presented by Lady Kennedy.

4. Caricature portrait of Samuel Palmer, seen from the back, wearing a very wide-brimmed hat and carrying a large umbrella upside down.
Inscribed Sambo Palmer Sep 22 1825.
Pencil. (5¼×4¼) E. 1299—1925.
Presented by Lady Kennedy.

5. Portrait of Samuel Palmer as a young man.
Inscribed Samuel Palmer by George Richmond R.A.
Pen and pencil, heightened with white. (5¼×6)
Lent by the Misses F. M. and E. Redgrave.

6. "S. Palmer assuming a character."
Signed G.R. 1828.
Pen and pencil. (4×4¼)
Lent by Mrs. John Richmond.

7. Portrait of Samuel Palmer, in profile to the right, and wearing spectacles. *Attributed to George Richmond, but possibly by John Linnell.*
Pencil. (6¼×6)

Lent by A. H. Palmer, Esq.

JOHN LINNELL (1792-1882)

8. Caricature of Samuel Palmer and Edward Calvert, walking arm-in-arm.
With quotation from one of Samuel Palmer's letters.
Pen. (2¼×2¼)

Lent by A. H. Palmer, Esq.

SIR WILLIAM BLAKE RICHMOND, R.A. (1842-1921)

9. Portrait of Samuel Palmer.
Note in pencil by A. H. Palmer: "S. Palmer in 1856, by his Godson, Sir William Blake Richmond R.A. When he was fourteen years old."
Inscribed S. Palmer by W.B.R. 1856.
Pencil. Size of sheet (8¾×6¾).

Lent by A. H. Palmer, Esq.

CHARLES WEST COPE, R.A. (1811-1890)

10. Portrait of Samuel Palmer as an old man.
Inscribed S. Palmer R.W.S. by C. W. Cope, R.A.
Pencil. Sight measurement (5¼×5).

Lent by the Misses F. M. and E. Redgrave.

GEORGE RICHMOND

11. Autograph Letter, signed, from George Richmond to Samuel Palmer, at Shoreham, Kent, 15 Aug. 1827. (Plate I.)

Wednesday Even[g]

My D[r] Friend

Lest you should not have heard of the Death of M[r] Blake I have written this to inform you — He died on Sunday Night at 6 Oclock in a most glorious manner. He said He was going to that Country he had all His life wished to see & expressed himself Happy hoping for Salvation through Jesus Christ — Just before he died His Countenance became fair — His eyes Brighten'd and He burst out in singing of the things he saw in Heaven. In truth He Died like a saint as a person who was standing by Him Observed — He is to be Buryed on Fridayay (*sic*) at 12 in

morn[g] — Should you like to go to the Funeral — If you should there there (*sic*) will be Room in the Coach.

Yrs affection[y]
G Richmond

Excuse this wretched scrawl.

Lent by A. H. Palmer, Esq.

SAMUEL PALMER

12. Note from the British Gallery, Pall Mall, dated 2 Feb. 1817, informing Samuel Palmer of the purchase of one of his pictures, etc.

Mr Young presents Compliments to Mr Palmer — informing that Mr Wilkinson of N° 4 Beaumont [?] Marybone, has purchased his picture — N° 169 marked at 7 guineas; & Mr Wilkinson wishes to see Mr Palmer, being disposed from the specimen he has seen of his abilities to give him further encouragement —

British Gallery
Pallmall.
Feb. 2 : 1817.

L. 1158—1926.

Presented by A. H. Palmer, Esq.

13. Autograph Letter, signed, from Samuel Palmer to John Linnell, with postmark dated 17 Sept. 1828.

Shoreham near Dartford Kent
Tuesday September

My Dear Sir,

The unsettled state of the weather which has now happily taken another turn & is perfectly fine will have prevented you from wondering that I did not come to town.

The hop picking began yesterday & I think as the days are glorious you had better come *directly* — The picking will last a month so if you sieze (*sic*) the fine weather & begin immediately you can if you feel disposed spend a day at Bayswater between whiles & still have time left to come back & finish your sketches. You will find some boy at Morant's Court Hill who will let me know your arrival there when I will immediately put forward with horse & cart. If you see Mr. Tatham will you be so kind to tell him the picking is begun & that I hope he will make a point of coming before it is over, & the sooner the better Pray

Sir do not defer coming for if you put it off to the end of the picking & it should then turn out rainy you will be vex'd.

I have just received a letter from Mr. Richmond, he is at Calais & in good health & desires to be remember'd to yourself Mrs. Linnell & family.

My Father presents best respects uniting with whom I re[main] in great haste as the post is g[oing]

Dear Sir
Your obligd humble Sert
Sam'l Palmer

L. 1159—1926.

Presented by A. H. Palmer, Esq.

14. Sheet of paper, with, in ink, recipes of cough medicine, and, in pencil, a diagram showing in the form of a tree with branches the respective claims of the Poetic, the Rational, the Scientific, and the Prudential aspects of life.

Shoreham period.

Lent by A. H. Palmer, Esq.

15. Sheet of paper setting out, as on a balance sheet, the losses and consolations of Samuel Palmer in the death of his son More.

Lent by A. H. Palmer, Esq.

16. "Poems of Milton." Two volumes with plates, published by Jacob Tonson, London, 1730 and 1725 respectively. Fly-leaf of the second inscribed: "Samuel Palmer, Shoreham Kent. The gift of his beloved Nurse Mary Ward, 1829."

Mary Ward . . . was one of those faithful and affectionate servants of a race which seems to exist no longer, and although for the most part unlettered, she was not only "deeply read" in her Bible, and in *Paradise Lost*, but was acquainted with other poetry. For instance when the child was between three and four years old, Mary and he stood watching at a window while the full moon, rising behind the branches of a great elm, cast a maze of shadows on the opposite wall. As the shadows changed, the girl repeated this couplet:—

"Fond man! the vision of a moment made!
Dream of a dream, and shadow of a shade."

Life and Letters of Samuel Palmer, p. 4, 1892.

I am sending for the Museum two shabby little volumes, Mary Ward's copy of Milton's Poetical Works. From this apparently insignificant beginning, arose that intensive tillage of my father's mind which ultimately resulted in the Milton series of drawings and very much more. Mary Ward and he never parted. She tended him from earliest infancy. With equal devotion she took the place of his dead mother in his boyhood. She went with him to Shoreham, and at the close of that happy era returned with him

to London. He left behind him a record of their farewell (No. 17), written just after she had kissed him goodbye and blessed him with her last words. So great was his sorrow that it clouded his happiness long afterwards.—A.H.P.

Size of volumes (6¼×4¼). E.I.D. Book Nos. 1128, 1129.

Presented by A. H. Palmer, Esq.

17. Memorandum, in pencil, by Samuel Palmer recording the death of his old nurse, Mary Ward.

Jany–18–1837 at about ¼ past 4 I asked Mary Ward to bid God bless me — & to kiss me (as I kissed her) she said "May the Lord bless you forever & ever" & kissed me quickly several times on the cheek though so exhausted — my Brother William asked her to bless him & kiss him — & she said "May the Lord God Almighty & Jesus Christ — here her voice failed — & she kissed him on the cheek —

My dear Nurse & most faithful servant & friend Mary Ward died at 5 minutes to five o'clock 18th Janʸ 1837 the same day of the same month on which my Mother died confined to bed 11 days. L. 1160—1926.

Presented by A. H. Palmer, Esq.

18. Pair of silver spectacles in case, used by Samuel Palmer for nearly seventy years.

Without the aid of these spectacles for near sight he was helpless, so far as his occupations were concerned (he hated the gimcrack, genteel pair in which he was photographed); and through them he saw the "Valley of Vision." He alludes to parts of the Shoreham landscape reflected in one of his spectacle lenses as laughing him to scorn. Through them he saw Blake sign for him the extremely rare sheet of the Pastorals which is now placed on exhibition (See no. 28). . . . Through them he gazed with almost equal enthusiasm at ancient Rome and the Villa D'Este cypresses, which, afterwards, he so often reproduced. But it was not long before the bitterest sorrows and disillusionments of life . . . fell upon him, and so dimmed were these lenses by tears, that he could scarcely see his little dying daughter when she tried to put her arms round his neck. Years afterwards, when he was finally crushed by the still greater grief for the death of his elder son, and was living through a dreadful winter, he wrote:—"I have been all day trying to see my work through tears." He was working on "Wrecked at Home." Without these spectacles he could not see the drawing clearly, and tears made them almost useless then, and often for many weeks afterwards. . . . His old nurse's spectacles I still possess. They are of a far older and rougher type; and they have this point of interest. Wearing them she fumbled for her own favourite passages in the little volumes (No. 16) now sent to the Museum.—A. H. P. E. 3979—1923.

Presented by A. H. Palmer, Esq.

19. Etching needle used by Samuel Palmer. E. 3980—1923.

Presented by Martin Hardie, Esq., R.I., R.E.

20. Scraper used by Samuel Palmer. 2. 4530—1923.
Presented by Martin Hardie, Esq., R.I., R.E.

JOHN LINNELL (1792–1882)

21. Portrait of Blake.
Photograph of the unfinished ivory miniature by John Linnell, Senior. It was copied for Gilchrist's *Life of Blake* by John Linnell, Junior. A delay in the payment for the copy became the subject of one of those innumerable vigorous disputes over which the elder Linnell wasted so much invaluable time and energy throughout his life.
(5×4½)
Lent by A. H. Palmer, Esq.

GEORGE RICHMOND

22. Portrait of Samuel Palmer, Senior.
Drawn by George Richmond at Shoreham, December 11, 1827. Richmond, having been born in 1809, was then 18. As he had been admitted Student at the Royal Academy in 1824 he was probably still working there.
Signed G. Richmond. Dec^r^ 17, 1827.
Pencil. Size of sheet (11×7¼).
Lent by A. H. Palmer, Esq.

23. Portrait of Henry Walter.
Note in pencil on this drawing by George Richmond, and probably written by himself :— "Drawn by G. R. 1 o'clock P.M. (*sic*) Saturday Morning, May 25, 1831, for 4½d."
Pencil, touched with white. Size of sheet (13½×11).
Lent by A. H. Palmer, Esq.

24. Portrait of Welby Sherman, 1827.
Note in pencil on drawing by A. H. Palmer : "W. Sherman, drawn by George Richmond, Esq., R.A. Sherman engraved, in mezzotint, one of Palmer's early pictures—a Miltonic subject." (See nos. 66, 67.)
Inscribed W. Sherman. 1827.
Pencil. Size of sheet (9½×7½).
Lent by A. H. Palmer, Esq.

PHOTOGRAPHS

25. Photograph of George Richmond, R.A., D.C.L.
Taken by A. H. Palmer at Furze Hill House after S. Palmer's death, 1881. Another, taken at the same time, was published in "The Year's Art."—A. H. P.
(4½×3½)
Lent by A. H. Palmer, Esq.

26. Photograph of John Linnell, Senior.

Taken in the early days of photography. Age between 50 and 60.—A. H. P.

(7¼×5¼)

Lent by A. H. Palmer, Esq.

WILLIAM BLAKE (1757–1827)

27. Death's Door. (Plate II.)

The unique engraving by Blake. His understanding with Cromek was that he should design and engrave the illustrations to Blair's *Grave*. "Blake was 'looking forward with anxious delight' to the congenial task of engraving his 'Inventions,' and did engrave one or two. A print in his peculiar, vigorous manner, from his favourite design—*Death's Door*—I have seen. But shrewd Cromek's eye had been educated in the school of graceful Bartolozzi" (GILCHRIST, Alexander: *Life of Blake*, 1st edition, vol. 1, page 201), and he gave the work to Schiavonetti. This engraving is not in the British Museum and this proof was believed by Samuel Palmer to be unique. It was to this very impression that Gilchrist referred. Nor was this engraving in the Linnell Collection. This impression was given to me by my father in 1875 and he signed an entry to that effect in my commonplace-book.

One of the last entries in the second volume of his own commonplace-book was this:—"Abercrombie William, of the Manor House, Ashton on Mersey (SALE) is illustrating BLAKE'S Life." To the kindness of Miss Mona Wilson, of Oare, I owe the following extract from a letter of S. Palmer dated February 5, 1881, to William Abercrombie:—

"To render the list of type-printed designs complete, you can, if you please, insert the mention of a very fine version of Age entering the tomb, and the spiritual body sitting above; the same invention which appears in Blair's *Grave*—it is not coloured. My son has an impression which, so far as we know, is unique. Were I illustrating the book my great object would be some likeness of Mr. Butts through his son Captain Butts, if he could be found; . . . because the father for years stood between the greatest designer in England and the workhouse—that designer being, of all men whom I ever knew, the most practically sane, steady, frugal and industrious.

"Dear Mr. Blake promised to take me himself to see Mr. Butts' collection—but alas! it never came off." (Letter transcribed in the *Catalogue of the Shaw collection sold at Sotheby's July* 1925.)

A. G. B. Russell in his *Engravings of William Blake*, p. 89, declares that he has not seen an example of the "Death's Door" in Blair's "Grave," engraved by Blake, and thinks that Gilchrist might have been mistaken.—A. H. P.

Soft metal engraving in the woodcut manner. (7⅛×4⅛)

Lent by A. H. Palmer, Esq.

28. Illustrations to Dr. R. J. Thornton's "Virgil's Eclogues, with English imitations by Ambrose Philips, Pope, and others" (3rd Edition, elaborated and profusely illustrated). Four prints on one sheet. (*See* RUSSELL, A. G. B.: "The Engravings of William Blake," 30, ii, iii, iv, and v.)

These proofs represent that extremely rare state before the blocks were cut down. (*See* BINYON, Laurence: *Burlington Magazine*, Dec. 1920, p. 284.) The following

advertisement, printed on a card, was circulated at the time of the publication of the *Virgil*:—"Dr. Thornton's Greatly admired and esteemed *Virgil* illustrated by two hundred and thirty cuts! Engraved by the first Artists of this Country is now on Sale & may be purchased of W. Harrison. Wine Merchant N° 13 Little Tower Street. London. This work is patronized by the Master of St. Paul's." On the back of one of these advertisements is the following in ink:—"September 16. 1825 (*i.e.*, almost two years before Blake's death). Received of Mr. Linnell for the Wood-Blocks executed by Mr. Blake two guineas (*i.e.*, about 2/6 each) for Mr. Mr. Mr. (*sic*) Harrison R.I.Thornton M.D."
Signed in ink W. Blake Fecit.
Wood-engravings. Size of sheet ($6\frac{1}{16} \times 3\frac{3}{4}$).

Lent by A. H. Palmer, Esq.

29. Blake's illustrations to Dr. Thornton's *Virgil's Eclogues*. Other impressions (after the cutting down of the blocks) of nos. ii and iv.
Note in pencil on mount: "Printed for J. Linnell by Edward Calvert."
Cut to ($1\frac{1}{2} \times 3\frac{1}{16}$) ($1\frac{1}{8} \times 3$).

Lent by A. H. Palmer, Esq.

30. Autograph Letter. From Samuel Palmer to Mrs. George, with reference to No. 28, above:

Dear Mrs. George, Will you accept these few drops from the *fountain head?* They are all I have, or you should have a bucketful. Mr. Blake gave this page to me in Fountain Court: impressions taken there, at his own press, by his own hands, and signed by him under my eyes: so that, to those who are unwise enough to think that their own pair of eyes are the surest possible evidence of anything, here is an authentic autograph with a vengeance. I beg their pardon:—a real wiseacre says "If I could but have seen with my *own* eyes"—his neighbours' eyes are not good enough for him—so after all the poor autograph is hardly well vouched for I fear.

S. Palmer, Furze Hill House, Sept. 1864.

Mrs. George was an old lady virtuoso (very big; and, long ago, very beautiful), who lived, chiefly, on the memories of a strenuous and gay eighteenth century youth. With the mid-19th century, her house in London had little to do. To be sure, she had sometimes driven a Four-in-hand; but, at the date of this letter, she was (with "Old Tub," her maid), a recluse. She lived in the midst of treasures. All were old; and most were genuine. Many were beautiful and rare. She was enthusiastic in following a half forgotten rage for taking any given book apart, and reconstructing it with portraits and other illustrations (Graingerizing). It was in this work that Palmer's elder son helped her. When he died, and the father was stricken down, she came forth from her close seclusion. Thenceforth she devoted herself to practical sympathy, in which no trouble was too great. Hence the unique gift above; and the letter.—A. H. P.

Lent by A. H. Palmer, Esq.

EDWARD CALVERT (c. 1803–1883)

It is perhaps well to remember that the following little engravings and lithographs (Nos. 31–38) were done from 1827 to 1829, and that Calvert did not arrive in London from the West of England till the close of 1824, when Palmer had already filled and was filling book after book with small designs for pastoral and poetic subjects. Calvert, therefore, was familiar with the chief features of those designs for three years before he made his own. This may account for a resemblance here and there to be found. The distance and middle distance of the small design reproduced on the title-page of Calvert's *Memoir* might have been Palmer's own. By the close of 1824 Palmer had exhibited no fewer than eight works at the Royal Academy and seven at the British Institution. He was six years younger than Calvert, who was a well-trained artist before he settled in London. The exquisite charm and sentiment of his engravings baffles all analysis. The following proofs were printed by Calvert himself.—A. H. P.

The numbers in brackets, *e.g.* (IX) refer to "Edward Calvert, Ten Spiritual Designs, Enlarged from Proofs of the Originals on Copper, Wood and Stone," 1913.

31. The Return Home (I). 1830.

Exhibited at the Royal Academy, 1893.

Inscribed LONDON IN. GR & PVBLISHED BY EDW. D. CALVERT XVII RVSSELL ST NORTH BRIXTON LAMBETH MARCH MDCCCXXX.

Wood-engraving. ($1\frac{3}{4} \times 3\frac{1}{16}$)

Lent by F. L. Griggs, Esq., A.R.A., R.E.

32. The Lady and the Rooks (III). 1829.

Exhibited at the Royal Academy, 1893.

Signed E. CALVERT IN. ET SC. 1829.

Wood-engraving. ($1\frac{11}{16} \times 3\frac{1}{16}$)

Lent by F. L. Griggs, Esq., A.R.A., R.E.

33. The Brook (V). 1829.

Exhibited at the Royal Academy, 1893.

Inscribed EDW^{d} CALVERT INVEN. ET SCVLP. THE WATERS OF THIS BROOK SHALL NEVER FAIL TO THE MARRIED WIFE OF THE LORD GOD. LONDON PVBLISHED IVNE XXIX MDCCCXXIX BY EDWARD CALVERT XVII RVSSELL STREET BRIXTON ROAD.

Wood-engraving. ($2\frac{1}{16} \times 3\frac{1}{8}$)

Lent by F. L. Griggs, Esq., A.R.A., R.E.

34. The Flood (VII). 1829.

Exhibited at the Royal Academy, 1893.

Inscribed EDW.D CALVERT INVEN. LONDON PVBLISHED OCTOBER I MDCCCXXIX BY EDW.D CALVERT XVII RVSSELL ST. BRIXTON RD.

Lithograph. ($1\frac{11}{16} \times 3\frac{1}{16}$)

Lent by F. L. Griggs, Esq., A.R.A., R.E.

35. The Bride (VIII). 1828.

Inscribed EDW.D CALVERT INVEN. ET SCVLP. O GOD! THY BRIDE SEEKETH THEE. A STRAY LAMB IS LED TO THY FOLDS. LONDON PVBLISHED AS THE ACT DIRECTS NOVEMBER XVII MDCCCXXVIII BY EDWARD CALVERT XVII RVSSELL ST. BRIXTON ROAD.

Etching. (3 1/16 × 5 1/4)

Lent by F. L. Griggs, Esq., A.R.A., R.E.

36. The Cyder Feast (IX). 1828. (Plate III.)

Exhibited at the Royal Academy, 1893.

Samuel Palmer wrote of this design: "I don't set up for a judge, but, like a blind baby feeling for the breast, know the taste of milk, with a somewhat precocious appetite for cream. I find the cream in your *Cider Press*, which, in poetic richness, beats anything I know, ancient & modern." (See *Life and Letters of Samuel Palmer*, 1892, p. 29.) Thus Calvert is, in this instance, placed above Blake.—A.H.P.

Inscribed EDW.D CALVERT INVEN. ET SCVLP. BY THE GIFT OF GOD IN CHRIST. LONDON PVBLISHED AS THE ACT DIRECTS OCTOBER X MDCCCXXVIII BY EDW.D. CALVERT XVII RVSSELL ST BRIXTON ROAD.

Wood-engraving. (3 1/4 × 5 1/4)

Lent by F. L. Griggs, Esq., A.R.A., R.E.

37. The Ploughman (X), or The Christian ploughing the last Furrow of Life. 1827. (Plate III.)

Inscribed EDVV.D CALVERT INVEN. ET SCVLP. LONDON PVBLISHED AS THE ACT DIRECTS SEPTEMBER XXII MDCCCXXVII RVSSELL STREET BRIXTON ROAD. SEEN IN THE KINGDOM OF HEAVEN BY VISION THROVGH IESVS CHRIST OVR SAVIOVR.

Wood-engraving. (3 1/4 × 5 1/4)

Lent by F. L. Griggs, Esq., A.R.A., R.E.

38. The Ploughman (1st state).

Inscribed on mount To Samuel Palmer from Edward Calvert. Proof of the block in its first state when only six impressions were taken.

Cut to (3 1/4 × 5). E. 660—1920.

GEORGE RICHMOND

39. The Shepherd.

Touched proof. The lamb in the foreground and the lower branches of the tree not yet engraved; the ivy climbing round the tree only suggested by two lines and a single leaf.

Signed in pencil G.R. *Inscribed in pencil* The Shepard (*sic*) early impression.

Engraving, touched with pencil and white. (6 3/4 × 4 1/8) E. 1300—1925.

Presented by Lady Kennedy.

40. The Shepherd.

Later state. The ivy on the tree, the branches above the shepherd's hand, and the lamb in foreground added, as well as a thatched cottage in the valley on left. The face of the second sheep on the shepherd's right has been burnished out.

Signed in pencil Geo. Richmond. *Inscribed in pencil* The Shepherd.

Engraving. (6⅞×4⅛) E. 1301—1925.

Presented by Lady Kennedy.

41. "It was the owl that shriek'd, the fatal bellman.—Macbeth."

Signed G. Richmond Del[t] et Scul[t] 1827.

Engraving. (2⅜×1⅞) E. 1302—1925.

Presented by Lady Kennedy.

FRANCIS OLIVER FINCH (1802–1862)

42. Landscape with River and Castle.

Water-colour. (16¼×23) 153—1890.

HANNAH PALMER (*née* Linnell)

43. Street of Tombs, Pompeii.

Drawn on the spot by Hannah Palmer (then about 20 years old), who lived for a time among the excavations with her husband. Both of them were in the midst of such tremendous toil, and suffered such discomforts and privations on the slender means which they would not exceed, that the story is almost incredible. Her knowledge of and taste in Art was thought well of at Redstone Wood and Furze Hill House, where there were many examples of her strenuous Italian labours.—A. H. P.

Signed Hannah Palmer.

Water-colour. (7⅛×10¾)

Lent by A. H. Palmer, Esq.

44. Horoscope, cast by John Varley, on the nativity of Hannah Palmer, wife of Samuel Palmer, and daughter of John Linnell. (Plate IV.)

"Everyone who has heard anything of Varley has heard of his enthusiasm for astrology . . . indeed he was candid enough to own that his astrology was one of the great causes of his popularity as a drawing-master. 'Ladies come to take drawing lessons,' said he, 'that they may get their nativities cast.' . . . Many curious coincidences between his predictions and the event are related by his friends and pupils. We have told how he predicted the marriage of Sir Augustus Callcott, and he seems also to have cast the nativity of Cotman. . . ." (REDGRAVE, R. and S.: *A Century of Painters*, 2nd Ed., 1890, p. 182.)

Varley brought the nativity, now exhibited, to John Linnell (Hannah Palmer's father), while she and her husband were in Italy; apparently intending that it should be sent to them. He also brought two others which were not completed. They applied to two of Linnell's sons. Linnell did not send on his daughter's; and it is doubtful if

she ever saw it. In a letter to Palmer, he wrote that Varley gave a warning as to a certain time, so that special care might then be taken. He added that if his son-in-law did not take care of his wife *all* the time he (Linnell) would "tickle his toby with a knob-stick."—A. H. P.

Dated October 1839.

Pen and water-colour. (6×4⅛)

Lent by A. H. Palmer, Esq.

DRAWINGS, ETC., BY SAMUEL PALMER

45. Sketch of a Windmill.

This was done at the age of 7. On the back, in ink, "Dec. 19 1812," and in pencil, in the Artist's hand: "The date is my dear Mother's writing. I gave this to dear Herbert Sept. 5 1862. S. Palmer."

Water-colour. (1⅛×2 1/16)

Lent by A. H. Palmer, Esq.

46. Pollard Willow, Tottenham Marshes. About 1819.

On back, in ink in the Artist's hand, "Tottenham Marshes. This pollard willow was enriched with a great variety of tints, some of rich olive green & others where the mosses had not prevailed of a silvery grey. The foliage was of a light green not very warm. S. Palmer."

Very early sketch before Blake's influence, and before Palmer's introduction to Linnell.—A. H. P.

Pencil. (7⅛×4 7/16)

Lent by A. H. Palmer, Esq.

47. Potato Shed, Tottenham Marshes. About 1819.

Signed in ink on back S. Palmer. *Inscribed* Potatoe Shed Tottenham Marshes.

Pencil. (4 7/16×7 1/16)

Lent by A. H. Palmer, Esq.

48. Old Cottage and Elms.

On the back in pencil in the Artist's hand, and written at Reigate many years afterwards:

"Wretch even then, life's journey just begun."
(Cowper's Poem, "On the Receipt of My Mother's Picture.")
"O blindness to the future wisely given,
That man may fill the station marked by Heaven."

Done before Palmer's introduction to William Blake or to Linnell. Date before 1822.—A.H.P.

Sepia. (2¾×4⅛)

Lent by A. H. Palmer, Esq.

49. Hailsham, Sussex. A Storm Coming On. (Plate XV.)

Sketch made in 1821, and afterwards used for a painting (40×36) exhibited at the British Institution in 1822 under above title. Its companion pictures were *A Lane Scene, Battersea* (24×20), and *On the Thames, Evening* (30×25). All these were painted before the introduction of Palmer to Linnell. (See *Life and Letters of Samuel Palmer*, 1892, p. 407.)

Probably if the Hailsham sketch was not dated 1821, and it was not known that the small selection of sketches and designs from the early sketch-book which follow were made about three years later, many persons might take the opposite for granted. The contents of the 1824 sketch-book prove how assiduously the youth befriended by Linnell had followed his advice to "*Look at Albert Dürer*"; and how deeply impressed he must have been, at the same time, by those works of Blake's which Linnell showed him before the introduction at Fountain Court in October 1824. It must not be forgotten that although Linnell introduced Samuel Palmer to William Blake he had nothing to do with the personal results, with which, indeed, he probably had very little sympathy, even if he understood their full scope. It is doubtful whether he ever understood or realized the full consequences of the introduction.—A.H.P.

Inscribed At Hailsham, SP. (*monogr.*) 1821 Sussex.

Water-colour. (8¼×12¼)

Lent by A. H. Palmer, Esq.

50. Leaves from Palmer's Sketch-book, 1824. (Plate V.)

Given to George Richmond by Samuel Palmer, and bequeathed by the former to A. H. Palmer. Some of the designs in the 1824 book show the influence of Albert Dürer and of Blake very strongly. Palmer knew Blake's work already, though he did not see him for the first time till the 9th October 1824.—A.H.P.

Pen, some touched with wash. (4⅛×7½)

1. Page 4. Above, in a straight row, twenty-three kinds of trees, with a river and distant hilly landscape. Beneath, a row of heads. In lower left hand corner, "A very old tower, Lambeth Palace," drawn with great minuteness. To the right, a cottage with vine, Bishop's Walk.

2. Page 9. A small portion of a flaming ten-inch sun altogether refrains from casting any shadows either of the milkmaid with her buckets, two mowers, trees, or a central, middle distant church spire. There is another village spire in the distance. In the extreme foreground across the whole page reclines a figure holding a Bible. The central field appears to be full of hop-poles.

3. Page 21. In Samuel Palmer's handwriting: "So exquisite is the glistening of the stars through loopholes in the thick woven canopy of ancient elm trees, of stars differing, and of one prime lustre piercing the gloom, & all dancing with instant change as the leaves play in the wind that I cannot help thinking that Milton intended his 'Shady roof of branching elm *star proof*' as a double stroke, as he tells of the impervious leafy gloom, glancing at its beautiful opposite, 'Loop holes cut through thickest shade' and in them socketed the gems which sparkle on the Ethiopic forehead of the night."

4. Page 26. Landscape, with row of distant trees, standing corn, and deep down among the trees to the right a cottage with a semi-circular thatched roof. On the horizon, a great crescent moon "with the old moon in her arms."

5. Page 31. Two studies of a lion, showing with elaborate minuteness the insertion of each whisker.

6. Page 39. Harvest Home, with girls hand in hand dancing round the sheaves. The Harvest Moon rises exactly central. In foreground, two figures reposing.

Lent by A. H. Palmer, Esq.

51. Study of a hand holding a knobbed stick.

Signed S. Palmer, 1825.
Pen and chalk. (4×2¾)

2.1303—1925.

Presented by Lady Kennedy.

52. The Village of Shoreham near Sevenoaks.

Here it was that Palmer spent the happiest years of his life, all that he saw and wrote and drew being transmuted and changed by Blake's *personal* influence. This sketch was made on the hillside a little to the N.W. of Shoreham Village. Among the trees near the bridge is caught a glimpse of "Waterhouse," the Queen Anne house which became the headquarters of the Palmers, father and son. It was there that they received the other "Ancients" and William Blake himself. (*See* S. Calvert's *Memoir of Edward Calvert*, 1893.) The sketch is somewhat matter-of-fact, but *The Bellman* plate was intended to embody the true sentiment of the place, although the artist was obliged to leave out its chief glory, the River Darent.—A.H.P.
Sepia, touched with white. (9×11¾)

Lent by A. H. Palmer, Esq.

53. The Timber-waggon. (Plate VI.)

On back of mount: "A. H. Palmer—gift from S. Palmer in the Sixties."
Shoreham period (1826-1833) and scenery, and exquisite old farms; but without the full vehemence of the true Shoreham mood; or any of the "Prudential" qualms of later years.—A.H.P.
Water-colour. Sight measurement (4⅛×6¼).

Lent by A. H. Palmer, Esq.

54. Harvesting with distant Prospect.

On back in Samuel Palmer's hand: "Old Paper, Unsized."
Water-colour. Sight measurement (4⅛×6¼).

Lent by A. H. Palmer, Esq.

Note on nos. 53 and 54:—
This pair of little water-colours reveals, in a modified way, his passion for great fertility and the country occupations of long ago, the touches of "ancient habitation" without which he said that "a prospect may be very extensive and very depressing."—A.H.P.

55. The Weald of Kent. (Plate VI.)

Water-colour. (7¾×10⅛)

Lent by Mrs. John Richmond.

56. Study of a Wall Fruit Tree in Blossom.

Shoreham period. Possibly this study was painted in the garden of "Waterhouse," the Palmers' home; but if it was not, a corner of Mr. Groonbridge's garden may be represented; a place so fertile, so replete with all kinds of delicacies, that Linnell and others were taken to see it. The study is midway between the analytic realism of the *Kentish Hop Bin* (No. 57) and the vision of miraculous fertility represented by *The Magic Apple Tree* (No. 61).—A.H.P.

Water-colour. (8¾×11⅛)

Lent by A. H. Palmer, Esq.

57. Study of a Kentish Hop Bin.

With elaborate notes in pencil by the Artist on the contrasting colours and shades of the poles, cloth, foreground and surrounding vegetation.

Shoreham period after Blake's influence.—A.H.P.

Dated 23.7.1834.

Water-colour. Size of sheet (11½×12). E.3450—1923.

Presented by A. H. Palmer, Esq.

58. Ruth Returned from Gleaning. (Plate VII.)

Drawn at Palmer's "Valley of Vision" and exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1829. A special visit to the Valley was made in order to complete this drawing, while under the full, potent influence of the place.

Reproduced in *Life and Letters of Samuel Palmer*, 1892.

Chalk and wash. Size of sheet (11⅛×11½). E.3449—1923.

Presented by A. H. Palmer, Esq.

59. The Valley of Vision.

Pen and sepia, heightened with white. (11⅛×17½)

Lent by A. H. Palmer, Esq.

60. Moonlight. The Winding River.

One of the most characteristic and, with Palmer, most favourite of his Shoreham designs. It gives an example of a detail in nature which at that time entranced him the moon or stars showing through branches and foliage, with the added charm of reflection from water—the charm for which he looked and longed in vain many years afterwards at Reigate. At Margate he once made a sketch of a stream winding over the sands to the sea. Sitting to windward, he did not discover that it was one of Margate's sewage outlets.—A.H.P.

Sepia, touched with white. (10½×7⅛)

Lent by A. H. Palmer, Esq.

61. The Magic Apple Tree.

An apple tree overhangs a steep lane. It is apparently leafless and it supports by magic a tremendous and utterly abnormal crop of large ripe apples. In the distance

is a hill thickly covered with corn. The whole is a conflagration of colour. Ultra Shoreham sentiment. This design dwelt apart from some of its Shoreham fellows in "The Curiosity Portfolio," so labelled by Palmer. The portfolio was never shown to any persons except the few who had the right of entrance to the painting-room at Furze Hill House. It is well to grasp the tremendous contrast between the imaginative and the analytic work of this period. This drawing should be contrasted with No. 63, the study of an actual bough bearing apples.—A.H.P.
Water-colour. (13¾×10¼)

Lent by A. H. Palmer, Esq.

62. In a Shoreham Garden.
Observe the relief of the pigments. Companion to The Magic Apple Tree.—A.H.P.
Water-colour. (11 1/16×8⅛)

Lent by A. H. Palmer, Esq.

63. Study of a Bough loaded with Apples. 1830.
Notes in pencil by the Artist on the colour and shape of apple boughs.
Shoreham period, but analytical. Compare No. 61.—A.H.P.
Chalk, touched with white. Size of sheet (11½×17¾).

Lent by A. H. Palmer, Esq.

64. Wooded Landscape by Moonlight.
Richly-heaving wooded landscape. Harvest Field. Rising Moon. Ultra Shoreham period. In a bright light the sheaves appear to be semi-transparent, but when the drawing is viewed in the dim light in which it was made that appearance vanishes. —A.H.P.
Water-colour. (7¾×11¾)

Lent by A. H. Palmer, Esq.

65. Twilight, Orange Sky. (Plate VIII.)
I loved the sentiment of this Shoreham sketch so much when I was a lad, that my father gave it to me. Now fifty-five years afterwards, and thousands of miles from Kent, I often see the same effect. But, in the distance, are the lofty mountains of Vancouver Island, and behind them the vast Pacific. Far, far, away to the South is the lonely tomb of Stevenson.—A.H.P. 1925.
Pen and water-colour. (6½×10 11/16)

Lent by A. H. Palmer, Esq.

66. Evening. Touched proof of the mezzotint.
A flock of sheep with a shepherd in a wood by moonlight. Dated in S. Palmer's hand: "March 21, 1834."
Engraving by Welby Sherman from a small panel picture by S. Palmer; first Grove Street and Shoreham period.
May I offer this touched proof to the Nation? I have seen only two impressions of the plate. Both are sent herewith, June 1923.—A.H.P.
Mezzotint. (8 11/16×9⅛)

E.3451—1923.

Presented by A. H. Palmer, Esq.

67. Evening. Published state of the above mezzotint.

"Evening late, by then the chewing flocks
Had ta'en their suppers of the savoury herb
Of knot-grass dew-besprent."

Lettered Painted by Samuel Palmer. Published by Samuel Palmer, 4 Grove Street, St. Marylebone 1834, Price 2/6.
Engraved by Welby Sherman.

Lent by A. H. Palmer, Esq.

68. On the Banks of the Darent.

Shoreham period.
Oil. (17¼×11¼)

Lent by Mrs. A. H. Palmer.

69. Old House on the Bank of the Darent.

Shoreham, near Waterhouse.
Pen and water-colour. (15⅞×12⅝)

Lent by A. H. Palmer, Esq.

70. Dark Trees by the side of a Pool.

Sepia. (4½×2½)

Lent by Martin Hardie, Esq., R.I., R.E.

71. A Shepherd and his Flock by Moonlight; a castle in the background. (Plate IX.)

Sepia. (4½×5½)

Lent by Martin Hardie, Esq., R.I., R.E.

Note on Nos. 70 and 71:—Shoreham period. They illustrate the uncontrolled influence of Blake and the leaven of some of the old poets.—A.H.P.
Four drawings of similar style and period, acquired by the National Gallery in 1922, are now on exhibition at the Tate Gallery.

71*a*. Landscape sketch: in the foreground dark trees, through which a bright light breaks.

Shoreham period.
Indian ink wash. (5⅛×7) E.643—1920.

71*b*. Landscape composition: in the background, trees, through the tops of which is seen the full moon; in the foreground, the figure of a woman, and three deer. c. 1830.

Shoreham period.
Body colour and wash. (5⅛×3⅝) E.644—1920.

72. A Shepherd leading his Flock by Moonlight; mottled effect in the sky.

Shoreham period.
Sepia. (5⅜×7)

Lent by F. L. Griggs, Esq., A.R.A., R.E.

73. The Sheep-Fold.

"—Where shepherds pen their flocks at eve
In hurdled cotes amid the field secure."
Paradise Lost.

Shoreham period.
Sepia. (5¼×7⅛)

Lent by A. H. Palmer, Esq.

74. The Primitive Cottage. (Plate VIII.)

A subject dearly loved by S.P. throughout life. Shoreham period.—A.H.P.
Pen and wash, touched with white. (8⅞×10¾)

Lent by Sir Frank Short, R.A., P.R.E.

75. Cottage among Trees.

Shoreham period. One of the incessant studies from nature which occupied Samuel Palmer, even at the zenith of Blake's influence.—A.H.P.
Pen and wash. Size of sheet (11×7½).

Lent by Martin Hardie, Esq., R.I., R.E.

76. Sunshine and Shadow. (Plate IX.)

End of Shoreham period. The beginning of the permanent result.—A.H.P.
This drawing, then in the possession of Mrs. Samuel Palmer, was reproduced in A. H. Palmer's *Memoir of Samuel Palmer*, 1882.
Sepia. (3⅜×4⅜)

Lent by Martin Hardie, Esq., R.I., R.E.

77. A Path through a Corn-field; large tree on right; village church in hollow to left.

Sepia. Sight measurement (3½×5).

Lent by Mrs. Bryan Hook.

78. A Heath with a Shepherd and his Flock; a windmill in the distance on right.

Sepia. Sight measurement (3½×4⅛).

Lent by Mrs. Bryan Hook.

79. Large bare Tree; spire of village church on right.
Sepia. Sight measurement (3½×4½).
Lent by Mrs. Bryan Hook.

80. A Kentish Idyl.
Reproduced in A. H. Palmer's *Memoir of Samuel Palmer*, 1882.
Sepia. (3⅝×4⅝)
Lent by Sir Frank Short, R.A., P.R.E., R.I.

81. A Village Church among Trees, with a flock of sheep in the foreground; seated figure on right. (Plate X.)
Sepia. (7½×6)
Lent by Sir Frank Short, R.A., P.R.E., R.I.

82. A Country Road leading towards a Church. (Plate X.)
One of numbers done at Shoreham showing the love of vivid contrasts of chiaroscuro. —A.H.P.
Sepia. (7½×5⅛)
Lent by Sir Frank Short, R.A., P.R.E., R.I.

83. A Windmill seen across a Cornfield.
Sepia. (2½×4½)
Lent by Mrs. John Richmond.

84. A thatched Cottage, with a square-towered church beyond on left.
Sepia. (3½×4⅝)
Lent by Mrs. John Richmond.

85. A Barn with moss-covered roof, Shoreham. (Plate XI.)
Shoreham period. One of a large series of outdoor studies which kept pace with the purely imaginative work.—A.H.P.
Water-colour. (11×14½)
Lent by Martin Hardie, Esq., R.I., R.E.

86. Tintern Abbey. 1835.
From near the Chepstow road, looking towards Monmouth.
Water-colour. Sight measurement (9½×15).
Lent by A. H. Palmer, Esq.

87. An Italian Pifferaro.

Italian period (1837-1839).
Reproduced in *Life and Letters of Samuel Palmer*, 1892, to face p. 234.
Water-colour. Size of sheet (11⅛×8⅝).

Lent by A. H. Palmer, Esq.

88. The Burial Place of Keats, with the Pyramid of Caius Cestius, Rome.

Three versions. The repetition shows the deep impression made on S. P. by Keats's grave.—A.H.P.

1. Original sketch made on the spot, 1837.
Pencil. (4×5½)
2. Bad reproduction of a "Little Long" water-colour for the Royal Society of Painters in Water Colours, 1844.
Line engraving. (1⅞×3⅜)
3. Small chiaroscuro "blot" which preceded a sepia drawing in the same Society's 1877 Exhibition.
Pencil. (1½×2¾)

Lent by A. H. Palmer, Esq.

89. Papigno on the Nar, between Terni and the Falls of Terni.

Water-colour. (12½×16½)

Lent by Sir Frank Short, R.A., P.R.E., R.I.

90. Sketch of the Town of Subiaco, from the south-west. 1837–1839.

Note in pencil by the Artist: "The local color of the topmost building should be much lighter—orange, white—making all below a deep middle tint."
Water-colour. (10½×17½)

Lent by A. H. Palmer, Esq.

91. Vesuvius in eruption. (Plate XII.)

Inscribed on mount: "Probably from Pompeii; in the excavations of which S. Palmer and his wife lived for a time. There, during this very eruption, they read 'The Last Days of Pompeii,' at night. At each explosion, the makeshift door shook (Palmer wrote), and distant watch-dogs bayed. To Sir Arthur Cope, R.A., in grateful memory of old days; and of days still older, when his Father (my Godfather), and mine were friends. A. H. Palmer. Vancouver B.C. April 1923."
Inscribed Vesuvius Aug 2. 1838.
Water-colour. (4½×7)

Lent by Sir Arthur Cope, R.A.

92. The Cypresses at the Villa D'Este, Tivoli. (Plate XIV.)

Note in pencil by Samuel Palmer:—"Drawn on the spot 1838–9."
"The forest studies of J. Linnell are peculiarly elaborate, and in many points most skilful; they fail perhaps of interest owing to overfulness of detail and a want of

generalisation in the effect; but even a little more of the Harding sharpness of touch would set off their sterling qualities and make them felt.

"A less known artist, S. Palmer, lately admitted a member of the Old Water Colour Society, is deserving of the very highest place among faithful followers of nature. His studies of foreign foliage especially are beyond all praise for care and fulness. I have never seen a stone pine or a cypress drawn except by him; and his feeling is as pure and grand as his fidelity is exemplary. He has not, however, yet, I think, discovered what is necessary and unnecessary in a great picture; and his works, sent to the Society's rooms, have been most unfavourable examples of his power, and have been generally, as yet, in places where all that is best in them is out of sight. I look to him, nevertheless, unless he lose himself in over reverence for certain conventionalisms of the elder schools, as one of the probable renovators and correctors of whatever is failing or erroneous in the practice of English art." (RUSKIN, J.: *Modern Painters*, volume I, part ii, section 6, chapter I, paragraph 35, 1846.)

This drawing of the Villa D'Este cypresses S.P. kept beside him all his life as a source of inspiration. See, for example, the trees in the etching of *The Early Ploughman*.—A.H.P.

Water-colour. Size of sheet (12⅓×9⅛).

Lent by Martin Hardie, Esq., R.I., R.E.

93. The Cypresses at the Villa D'Este.

Engraver's proof touched with white of one of Samuel Palmer's illustrations for the first edition of Charles Dickens' *Pictures from Italy*. With notes in pencil by the Artist giving directions to the Engraver.

Note extreme niceties involved in foreground, and the complete evaporation in the engraver's hands of all which made the original studies of these trees notable. 1844 or 1845.—A.H.P.

Wood engraving. Size of sheet (6⅛×4⅛).

Lent by A. H. Palmer, Esq.

94. Pompeii.

A study from nature made on the spot, 1837–1839.

Water-colour. (12⅜×16½)

Lent by Mrs. A. H. Palmer.

95. Near Underriver, Sevenoaks, Kent. (Plate XIII.)

Period of Grove Street, Lisson Grove, between the Italian and Kensington periods. This is an excellent example of that transition stage in colour and sometimes in subject which pleased some critics, including John Linnell himself. Every footpath, copse, and cottage in this neighbourhood must have been familiar to the "Ancients." In writing from Italy in April 1838 Palmer refers to the neighbourhood as the finest part of Kent, and to the "Great House" farm where the Richmonds lodged as perfection. He said that the neighbourhood was "as beautiful in its way as Italy."—A.H.P.

Water-colour. (10¾×15⅛)

Lent by Bryan H. Palmer, Esq.

96. Harlech Castle, Twilight.

"The moon is up, and yet it is not night."

Exhibited at the Old Water Colour Society's Gallery in 1843, the year of Palmer's election as Associate. It was not sold and was never hung up. About a year ago and by accident, I found that it was a remarkable example of the effect, on a great deal of my father's work, of too much light. In a bright or exhibition light the drawing looks flat, and the colouring disagreeable; but in the comparatively dim light in which the drawing was done (and especially in diffused light) it changed under my eyes so completely that it was as if I looked through a window at the exquisite scene itself. Further investigation revealed that other works of my father's were susceptible to the same change in light.—A.H.P.

Water-colour. (20¼×27⅜)

Lent by A. H. Palmer, Esq.

97. Harlech Castle.

Sketch from nature. Note in ink by Samuel Palmer:—"Harlech Castle North Wales from the Meadow of the Waterfall."

Water-colour. (14¼×17½)

Lent by A. H. Palmer, Esq.

98. View in the Campagna.

Original drawing (1844 or 1845) for an illustration to the first edition of Charles Dickens' *Pictures from Italy*.

Notes in pencil by Artist, giving directions to the Engraver: "The tender clouds have exactly the appearance desired with respect to their darkness and gradation. This drawing differs from the block in several of its details, but is lent for reference as giving the general gradations of depth from foreground to distance and sky. It is requested that great care be taken of it, and that it be returned with the proof."

The directions to the engraver referred to were, in the circumstances, as futile as Palmer's directions to the copper plate printer proved.—A.H.P.

Pencil. Size of sheet (3 1/16×4⅛).

Lent by A. H. Palmer, Esq.

99. Evening in Italy: The Deserted Villa.

"The sun sets red and rises bright;
But yon grey halls, as still as night,
With masque and revel wake no more
The echoes of the past'ral shore."

Exhibited at the Old Water Colour Society, 1845. Second Grove Street period. Palmer's favourite "Little Long" size; an example of the "Large Long" was "Wrecked at Home," Royal Water Colour Society, 1862.—A.H.P.

Water-colour. (7⅛×16¼)

Lent by Mrs. A. H. Palmer.

100. Studies of Barley, Oats and Wheat.

Notes in pencil by the Artist: "Barley — Average height as it stoops is between two and three feet. About as light as Rye but very golden — much lighter than Wheat. Oats. The most playful and elegant shapes are made out by high lights on a light ground. Height as it stoops about 3 feet. Deep toned woods come finely behind it. Wheat — General scheme. The golden, amber or greenish straw the midd. tint—ears darker and more red. Looking against sunset light the transparent husk of the ear forms a thin golden halo round it—the ears being darks of the transparent tone of the straw."

About 1846 or 1847. Second Grove Street or Kensington period.—A.H.P.

Water-colour and pencil. Size of sheet (10¾×15).

Lent by A. H. Palmer, Esq.

101. The Distant Hills.

Touched proof of the wood engraving by W. Measom, after a design by S. Palmer for William Adams' *Sacred Allegories*.

Wood engraving. (14¾×3¼)

Lent by A. H. Palmer, Esq.

102. Study of Waves breaking upon the Sea-shore.

With notes in pencil by the Artist: "Windy day — tide coming in over sands," and analysis of the different movements and appearances of the breakers.

Kensington period. One of several. Note the careful analysis preparing the way for the freedom and rapidity of No. 103.—A.H.P.

Pencil (6¼×10)

Lent by A. H. Palmer, Esq.

103. Storm and Wreck on the North Coast of Cornwall. (Plate XII.)

Note in pencil by the Artist on effects of surge.

One of the best of S.P.'s sketches from nature; Kensington period, and the origin of *Wrecked at Home*, Old Water Colour Society, 1862.—A.H.P.

Water-colour. (5¼×7¼)

Lent by Allan G. Palmer, Esq.

104. The North Devon Coast.

Water-colour. Sight measurement (7¼×10½).

Lent by the Misses F. M. and E. Redgrave.

105. Brambles.

Leaf from a sketch-book. With note on the back in pencil in Samuel Palmer's hand: "5 leaved Bramble"; and on the front, description of the leaves.

Kensington Period.

Pencil. (6¼×8¼)

Lent by A. H. Palmer, Esq.

106. Foxglove and Grasses.

Leaf from a sketch-book. With note on the back in pencil in Samuel Palmer's hand: "Foxglove with grasses. Toys Hill July 55"; and on the front, description of the leaves.
Kensington period.
Pencil. (6¼×8¼)

Lent by A. H. Palmer, Esq.

107. Tombstones in Reigate Churchyard.

Sketched on the spot. Probably early Kensington period. These tombstones are very near Samuel Palmer's grave.—A.H.P.
Pencil. Size of sheet (4⅛×7¼).

Lent by A. H. Palmer, Esq.

108. Two Studies of a Windmill.

Note in pencil by the Artist: "½ mile distant" (referring to smaller study). "The same mill in the same position both of body and sails."
Possibly made at Margate, where, in the Early Fifties, there were several.—A.H.P.
Kensington period.
Water-colour. Size of sheet (10⅛×14⅛).

Lent by A. H. Palmer, Esq.

109. Study of Daisies and Dandelions, and grassy foreground, made from the window of the Kensington villa, 6, Douro Place, Victoria Road. May 1856.

Note in pencil by Samuel Palmer on alterations of light due to the weather, and "Farewell soft clusters the only pretty things about the place. Ye are to be mowed this afternoon and to have a scraped scalp of 'respectability.'"
The clusters were allowed to develop in order to serve as a lesson for pupils to sketch.—A.H.P.
Chalk. (9⅛×11¾)

Lent by A. H. Palmer, Esq.

110. Conway Castle.

Note in pencil by Samuel Palmer:—"Make the open sky lighter than clouds and the mountains bathe in light. Sometimes a very distant mountain in light melts up into a lightish grey cloud with very little difference of colour. There might be added an isolated bright light on some mountain. Clump of trees the great depth."
It appears to have been begun on the spot, but perhaps the sky was worked upon afterwards. It was the origin of one of S.P.'s largest and most solemn water-colour drawings—*The Guardian of the Shores, Twilight after Rain*—exhibited at the Old Water Colour Society's Gallery.—A.H.P.
Water-colour. Size of sheet (18⅛×11⅛).

Lent by Martin Hardie, Esq., R.I., R.E.

111. The Wayside Inn, Twilight.

Water-colour. (5×6)

Lent by A. H. Palmer, Esq.

112. The Bright Cloud.

Smaller and later version of the sepia drawing in the National Gallery of British Art, Millbank. (The latter is reproduced in BINYON, Laurence: *The Followers of William Blake*, 1925, plate 31.)

Inscribed in pencil in Samuel Palmer's hand: "On those bright Italian days middle dist. white cloud near horizon lower egdges (*sic*) or base obscure. Effect made by cloud cast shadow over landscape—the rest as sunny as possible — The gray shadows of cloud almost as cool as azure."

Water-colour. (5×7)

Lent by A. H. Palmer, Esq.

113. The Wayside Smithy.

Design illustrating one of Samuel Palmer's favourite themes—moonlight and artificial light. See *Christmas* (etching, No. 170).—A.H.P.

Water-colour. (5×4)

Lent by Martin Hardie, Esq., R.I., R.E.

114. A Town in late twilight.

On the same sheet is a preliminary pencil sketch for (?) *The Wayside Smithy* (see No. 113), and many notes in pencil by the artist on effects of light and shade.

Water-colour. Size of sheet (8½×5⅛).

Lent by James Laver, Esq.

115. Yew Tree in Dolwyddelan Churchyard. (Plate XIV.)

Rapid sketch. In Mr. Richmond Seeley's opinion, one of Palmer's best trees.—A.H.P.

Pencil. Size of sheet (9⅛×7⅛).

Lent by A. H. Palmer, Esq.

116. An old Cedar in Botanic Garden, Chelsea.

Drawn as a lesson to Mr. Aston, afterwards a member of Institute of Painters in Water Colours, 1854. This tree was also painted by W. J. Müller in a water-colour, *Apothecaries Garden, Chelsea*, illustrated in "Early English Water-Colours," by C. E. Hughes. —A.H.P.

Pencil. Size of sheet (10⅛×14⅛).

Lent by Martin Hardie, Esq., R.I., R.E.

117. Going to Sea.

On a card behind the drawing is written in pencil, "Going to India the Blessing." A MS. label on the back of the frame reads, "No 60 return from India S. Palmer E," and a pencil inscription by an unknown hand on the backboard says: "Mr. Palmer wished it to be named 'Going to Sea' as it now is."

Water-colour. (7⅛×16⅞) 538.

Ellison Gift.

118. Landscape with Windmill, Figures and Cattle.

Signed S. PALMER.

Water-colour. (21¼×29⅝) 1204—1886.

Dixon Bequest (Bethnal Green Museum).

119. Going Home at Curfew Time. (Plate XV.)

This drawing was exhibited in the Winter Exhibition of the Old Water Colour Society in 1864, and also in the exhibition of Palmer's works which was held at the Fine Art Society in 1881–82.

Signed S. PALMER. 1864.

Water-colour. (10⅜×15⅛) 40—1892.

120. The Winding Stream.

The Museum possesses a replica of this drawing. (*See* No. 128.)

Signed S. PALMER.

Water-colour. (4×7) 68—1900.

121. A Farmyard near Princes Risborough, Bucks. (Plate XVI.)

On the backboard is a label bearing the following inscription by the Artist:—"A Farmyard near Prince's Risborough, Bucks.

N.B. No picture either in oil or water colours should be so hung as to receive direct sunlight during any part of the day. S.P."

On the back of a card behind the drawing is written, "Entering the Farm Yard. Samuel Palmer" in the artist's hand. Also "Size of mount board to be ordered 27¾ by 21½." Exhibited at the Fine Art Society in 1881, and almost certainly at the Old Water Colour Society in 1846.

Bought by Mr. Head direct from S.P. One of the very best examples of S.P.'s "transition" style; used to hang on the wall, Furze Hill House, in a picked position.—See *Life of Samuel Palmer*, page 80.—A.H.P.

Water-colour. (15 7/16×21⅛) P. 23—1919.

Presented by Mrs. J. Merrick Head.

122. The Furze Field.

The study was exhibited at the Winter Exhibition of the Old Water Colour Society in 1862, and at the Fine Art Society in 1881–82.

Water-colour. (7⅞ × 10⅛) P. 24—1919.

Presented by Mrs. J. Merrick Head.

123. Landscape with a Woman driving Sheep.

Water-colour. (10⅛ × 14⅜) P. 25—1919.

Presented by Mrs. J. Merrick Head.

124. A Harvest Field. (Plate XVII.)

Water-colour. (12⅛ × 21) P. 26—1919.

Presented by Mrs. J. Merrick Head.

125. Florence. c. 1838. (Plate XVIII.)

Below the drawing is written in the Artist's hand, "Florence: drawn on the spot—S. Palmer."

Reproduced in A. H. Palmer's *Life and Letters of Samuel Palmer*, 1892, facing p. 206.

Water-colour. (17⅞ × 23⅜) P. 27—1919.

Presented by Mrs. J. Merrick Head.

126. Street of the Tombs, Pompeii, 1837.

Water-colour. (11⅞ × 16⅛) P. 28—1919.

Presented by Mrs. J. Merrick Head.

127. The Villa D'Este, 1837. (Plate XIX.)

On the back of the backboard is pencilled "The Villa d'Este 1837 Samuel Palmer panted (*sic*) from nature."

Reproduced in *Life and Letters of Samuel Palmer*, 1892, facing p. 60.

Water-colour. (10¾ × 14⅜) P. 29—1919.

Presented by Mrs. J. Merrick Head.

128. The Shining River. Replica, with slight variations, of No 120. (Plate XX.)

On backing-paper behind the frame is written in the Artist's hand: "The 'Shining River.' Samuel Palmer Feb^{y} 1880."

Signed S. Palmer.

Water-colour. (4 × 6⅜) P. 30—1919.

Presented by Mrs. J. Merrick Head.

129. The Shadowy Stream.

On the back of the card on which the drawing is executed is written in pencil, "One of the V Bds press July 1880" and "Other side Same Size as Shining River." On the brown paper covering the backboard is written in ink in the Artist's hand, "No — The Shadowy Stream Samuel Palmer Furze Hill House Mead Vale Red Hill Surrey." Exhibited at the Fine Art Society in 1881–82.
Signed S. Palmer.
Water-colour. (4¼×7⅛)

P. 31—1919.

Presented by Mrs. J. Merrick Head.

130. Hasting to Covert: a Threatening Rain Storm. (Plate XX.)

On the backboard is pasted a piece of paper with the following inscription in Samuel Palmer's hand: "No 1, Hasting to Covert: a threatening rain storm — Samuel Palmer Furze Hill House, Mead Vale, Red Hill Surrey."
Exhibited at Summer Exhibition of the Old Water Colour Society in 1879, and at the Fine Art Society in 1881–82.
Signed S. Palmer.
Water-colour. (6⅛×8¼)

P. 32—1919.

Presented by Mrs. J. Merrick Head.

131. Mountain Streams and an Ancient Fortress. (Plate XVII.)

On a piece of paper pasted on the backboard is written in the Artist's hand, "No. 2 Mountain streams and an ancient fortress. Samuel Palmer Furze Hill House, Mead Vale, Red Hill, Surrey." In a different hand, though perhaps also by Samuel Palmer is added, "Exhibited in Gall^{y} of Old Watercol Society in the Spring of 1879."
Exhibited at the Fine Art Society in 1881–82.
Signed S. Palmer.
Water-colour. (5⅛×7⅛)

P. 33—1919.

Presented by Mrs. J. Merrick Head.

132. Western Shores.

On a piece of paper pasted on to the backboard is written in the Artist's hand, "No 2. Western Shores, Samuel Palmer Furze Hill House, Mead Vale, Red Hill Surrey" in pencil. On the backboard itself is the artist's signature, "Samuel Palmer," in pencil. On the back of the card on which the drawing is executed is written in the artist's hand in pencil, "Other side prep Feb^{y} 1878." The outline of the drawing and the horizon had been carefully ruled.
Exhibited at the 1879 Winter Exhibition of the Old Water Colour Society.
Mr. Martin Hardie, R.I., R.E., possesses a pencil study for the picture.
Signed Samuel Palmer 1879.
Water-colour. (5×7½)

P. 34—1919.

Presented by Mrs. J. Merrick Head.

133. Going to Fold.

On the back of the backboard an inscription, "Western Shores," (*cf.* No. 132) has been partially obliterated; in faded ink is written by the artist, "Samuel Palmer Furze Hill House, Mead Vale, Red Hill Surrey." On a piece of paper pasted on to the backboard is written in the artist's hand, "No 1. Going to fold, Samuel Palmer Furze Hill House, Mead Vale Red Hill, Surrey."

Exhibited at the Summer Exhibition of the Old Water Colour Society in 1879, and at the Fine Art Society in 1881–82.

Signed Samuel Palmer 1879.

Water-colour. (5×10) P. 35—1919.

Presented by Mrs. J. Merrick Head.

DESIGNS FOR VIRGIL AND MILTON

VIRGIL'S ECLOGUES

134. Original Design for Virgil's First Eclogue.

"O fortunate old man!
Then these ancestral fields are yours again;
And wide enough for you."

Reproduced in Samuel Palmer's *English Version*, 1883, opposite p. 18.

Reduced from the large water-colour drawing, *Tityrus Restored to his Patrimony*, exhibited at the Old Water Colour Society, 1877.

Pen and pencil, touched with white. (4×6)

Lent by A. H. Palmer, Esq.

135. Original Design for Virgil's First Eclogue. Another treatment. The Homeward Star.

"See, glimmering in the West, the homeward star;
And ffom the crest of upland towns afar,
The hearth-smoke rise—"

Reproduced, in etching, with slight variations, in Samuel Palmer's *English Version* 1883, opposite p. 22.

Pen and wash. (4×6)

Lent by F. L. Griggs, Esq., A.R.A., R.E.

136. Original Design for Virgil's Second Eclogue. (Plate XXI.)

"But see, the weary-pacing oxen, slow,
Homeward from labour'd furrows bring the plough,
Sliding reversed, and the departing sun
Doubles the lengthening shades—"

Reproduced in Samuel Palmer's *English Version*, 1883, opposite p. 30.

The last finished work of Samuel Palmer, 1880.—A.H.P.

Sepia. (4½×7)

Lent by A. H. Palmer, Esq.

137. Original Design for Virgil's Third Eclogue.

" 'Tis gentle Phillis I love best of all,
For when I left, some tears began to fall."

None of the following correspond to the design finally reproduced in Samuel Palmer's *English Version*, 1883, opposite p. 40.
Pen and sepia. (4×6)

Lent by A. H. Palmer, Esq.

138. Virgil's Third Eclogue. Another Version of the same subject.

Pen and pencil, touched with white. (4×6)

Lent by A. H. Palmer, Esq.

139. Virgil's Third Eclogue. Another version of the same subject. (Plate XXI.)

Note in pencil in the Artist's hand: " Dark azure to blue with tree-tops."
Pencil and water-colour, touched with white. (4×6)

Lent by A. H. Palmer, Esq.

140. Original Design for Virgil's Fourth Eclogue.

" Thy very cradle quickens, osiers loose
To tendrils turn, with flowery shoots diffuse."

Reproduced in Samuel Palmer's *English Version*, 1883, opposite p. 48.
Pen, touched with white. (4×6)

Lent by A. H. Palmer, Esq.

141. Original Design for Virgil's Fifth Eclogue. The Cypress Grove.

" Untimely lost, and by a cruel death,
The Nymphs their Daphnis mourn'd with faltering breath."

Reproduced in etching in Samuel Palmer's *English Version*, 1883, opposite p. 55.
On the back, in pencil, record of biting.
Pen and pencil, touched with white. (4×6)

Lent by A. H. Palmer, Esq.

142. Original Design for Virgil's Sixth Eclogue. (Plate XXII.)

"— till Vesper bade the swain
Number his flocks and stall them from the dew,
And then from the reluctant skies withdrew."

Before the introduction of the full scheme of light and shade and the sky, which were to be incorporated from the separate chiaroscuro scheme.—A.H.P.
Reproduced in Samuel Palmer's *English Version*, 1883, opposite p. 64.
Water-colour. (4×6)

Lent by A. H. Palmer, Esq.

143. Virgil's Sixth Eclogue. Another Version of the same subject.

With notes by the Artist on the completed scheme of light and shade which he intended to incorporate in the above.—A.H.P.

Pencil and sepia, touched with white. (3¾×5)

The last unfinished work of S. Palmer. Early in 1881. It may seem to justify (if it is taken with the separate scheme of light and shade) Mr. Hamerton's contention that S.P. was not intellectually decrepit in artistic perception at this time. Observe the coating (sometimes of paste), which, when moistened, allowed work to be done by scraping out lights somewhat after the style of mezzotint. Also observe that the original intention of executing the designs in pen and ink line had been abandoned. It is of peculiar interest to read one of the press notices of this design; in which certain portions are specially praised, although they merely adumbrate the absolutely different intention of the designer, as expressed in the infinitely more important scheme of light and shade on the smaller cardboard. Had the design been finished, the solemn sky added, and the whole ripened by the designer's intense love of twilight and the folding of flocks, it would probably have been one of the most characteristic of his whole life. He died 24th May 1881.—A.H.P.

Lent by A. H. Palmer, Esq.

144. Original Design for Virgil's Sixth Eclogue.

—"The young Mnasylus came
With Chromis to a cave, and chanced to find,
In a deep sleep Silenus there reclined."

Not reproduced in copy of Samuel Palmer's *English Version*, 1883, in the National Collection.

Pen and wash. (4×6)

Lent by A. H. Palmer, Esq.

145. Original Design for Virgil's Seventh Eclogue. (Plate XXII.)

"—the pastured bulls to stall
Wind hitherward along the dewy glade,
Ere yet, afar, the rosy mountains fade."

Reproduced in Samuel Palmer's *English Version*, 1883, opposite p. 70.

In pencil on back in Artist's hand: "Mist rising behind shed to ½ way up woman's arm."

The apparently harsh and discordant use of white is seen here near the man's foot; and again in other first designs of S.P.'s. It was intended as an unmistakable reminder to the *designer*—one he could not forget or overlook—of some important point in the light and shade. It was not by any means intended as a permanent note in the tone music. Observe the use of "The Artist's Divining Rod" in the sky; and note that the charcoal was added after the original scheme of pen and ink line (as referred to in the correspondence with Mr. Hamerton) was given up.—A.H.P.

Pen and charcoal, touched with white. (4×6)

Lent by A. H. Palmer, Esq.

146. **Original Design for Virgil's Eighth Eclogue. The Sepulchre.**

"—while the troubled moon shrunk in and set,
Th' earth trembled, and the starless heaven was jet."

Reproduced in etching in Samuel Palmer's *English Version*, 1883, opposite p. 82.
On the back in pencil, record of biting.
This and *Opening the Fold* (see No. 226) were both used as illustrations to the Eighth Eclogue.
Sepia. (4×6)

Lent by A. H. Palmer, Esq.

147. **Original Design for Virgil's Ninth Eclogue. Mœris and Galatea.**

"The cream-bowl set and in our cave recline,
(Its brow with poplar shaded, watch the West),
And timely with the sun, together rest."

Reproduced in etching in Samuel Palmer's *English Version*, 1883, opposite p. 88.
On the back, in pencil, record of biting.
Pen and pencil. (4×6)

Lent by A. H. Palmer, Esq.

148. **Virgil's Ninth Eclogue. Another version of the same subject.**

A preliminary sketch. Squared.
Chalk and wash. (4×6)

Lent by A. H. Palmer, Esq.

149. **Original Design for Virgil's Tenth Eclogue.**

"Pan came, Arcadian tetrarch ever good;
I myself saw him, glowing as he stood,
With wall-wort berries, crimson'd like the West."

Reproduced in Samuel Palmer's *English Version*, 1883, opposite p. 92.
Pen and wash. (4×6)

Lent by A. H. Palmer, Esq.

150. **Virgil's Tenth Eclogue. Another version of the same subject.**

Reproduced in Samuel Palmer's *English Version*, 1883, opposite p. 94.
Note on back in pencil in the Artist's hand: "Other side pasted for designing and when dry, scraped out with a palette knife."
Pencil and wash. (4¾×7)

Lent by A. H. Palmer, Esq.

151. **Virgil's Tenth Eclogue. Another version of the same subject.**

Note in Samuel Palmer's hand: "*edge* of cedar, stag in glen."
Pencil and wash, touched with white. (4×6)

Lent by A. H. Palmer, Esq.

First designs for illustrations to Milton.

If justice is to be done to these and to their designer, it is important to bear in mind that he worked upon them and invented them almost invariably after dark ; especially in the long winter evenings. They were purposely done in complete silence at " blessed green-tea-time " and by the light of a single oil-lamp—light which would be considered hopelessly inadequate now. Little attention seems to have been given to the difficulties of the old artists who had to work for long hours by artificial light. Aimé Argand revolutionized the subject of oil-lamps in 1784 by his circular burner and wick. In 1798 Carcel invented a lamp in which the oil was raised by clockwork. Out of the Carcel and Stokes lamp (in which the oil was raised by a spring) grew the French " Modérateur," which numbers of people, now living, have wound up. It was popular and reliable, but, according to modern notions, costly and utterly inadequate, although the cost of light had been reduced by the use of colza instead of sperm oil. Candles, from tallow " dips " in the cottage to great cone-shaped wax-lights in public places, held their own still. It was a crime to make tallow candles at home, but people in remote places made them, at their peril, in moulds of bamboo or old gun-barrel. On the subject of candles Cobbett had much to say, and he deplored the passing of the rushlight, the art of making it, and its iron stand and clip. In his own childhood it was the only light in his grandmother's cottage. Small oil-lamps on gimbals were sometimes carried about instead of candles. One of the first duties taught to a child was to hold a candle upright. Joseph Gillott, the famous Art patron and pen-maker, gave much attention to the ingenious French oil-lamps which preceded the " Moderator," and imported them to give to his artist friends, including Linnell. It was assuredly one of the problems of the struggling painter such as Palmer, who had to save pennies after he returned from Italy, how to get through his work in the dark and foggy winter days of London before the days of the snuffless plaited wick upon which so much time and ingenuity were spent. I can still remember the anxiety about " thieves in the candle," " guttering " through draughts, and the importance of timely snuffing, in order to save the precious tallow. To be seen as their designer imagined them, saw them himself and wished them to be understood, none of Palmer's preliminary designs and chiaroscuro blots must be brilliantly lighted. These designs were produced with the minimum of *manual* work—work which may appear coarse and careless in a " good " light. But they are the ripe fruit of the maximum of mental work of a very peculiar kind, and the striving of a

whole lifetime after certain ideals. The drawing materials and the handiwork were unconsidered incidents. Such a question as "How shall I represent this?" or "What did Milton mean by that?" never arose at all. The imagination was away in countries far more real than the cosy room and the flickering fire. *So long as the light is strong enough to show technical imperfections that light is the wrong light.* To appreciate Palmer's objects and ideals, the same dim light as that in which he worked must be resorted to. This applies, in a measure, to all his works, which have often lost more or less of their proper appeal because of a light far brighter than that of the small rooms in which they were done. It must not be forgotten that he never had a studio. I suggest these things, not at random, but as the result of many experiments, spread over years, with Argand's gas burner, candles, duplex petroleum lamps, powerful modern electric bulbs and diffused daylight of varying strength.—A.H.P.

Note:—The paper of Nos. 152-155 was prepared by a coat of common paste, and work was often done with the moistened blade of a pen-knife.

152. The Eastern Gate. (Plate XXIII.)

"Right against the eastern gate
Where the great sun begins his state
. . . .
While the plowman near at hand
Whistles o'er the furrow'd land."

L'Allegro.

The finished design is reproduced as plate 2 in *The Shorter Poems of John Milton with Twelve Illustrations by Samuel Palmer, Painter and Etcher*, 1889.
With pencil studies and notes by the Artist on the scheme of light and shade.
Dated May 1879.
Sepia wash. Size of sheet (10¾ × 15). E.1317—1925.

Presented by A. H. Palmer, Esq.

153. Towered City. (Plate XXIV.)

"Towred cities please us then,
And the busy hum of men."

L'Allegro.

The finished design is reproduced as plate 4 in *The Shorter Poems of John Milton.*
With pencil studies and notes by the Artist on the scheme of light and shade.
Sepia wash. Size of sheet (10¾ × 16¼). E.1318—1925.

Presented by A. H. Palmer, Esq.

154. The Bellman. (Plate XXI.)

"— the belman's drousy charm
To bless the doors from nightly harm."
Il Penseroso.

The finished design is reproduced as plate 6 in *The Shorter Poems of John Milton.* It was also used as the original design for the etching (M.H. 11). (See No. 211.) With notes by the Artist on the scheme of light and shade.

Chalk and wash. Size of sheet (10¾ × 14¾). E.1319—1925.

Presented by A. H. Palmer, Esq.

155. The Waters Murmuring. (Plate XXIV.)

"And the waters murmuring,
With such consort as they keep,
Entice the dewy-feather'd sleep."
Il Penseroso.

The finished design is reproduced as plate 9 in *The Shorter Poems of John Milton.* With pencil studies and notes by the Artist on the scheme of light and shade.

Chalk and wash. Size of sheet (10¾ × 15). E.1320—1925.

Presented by A. H. Palmer, Esq.

156. The Brothers under the Vine.

"I saw them under a green mantling vine
That crawls along the side of yon small hill,
Plucking ripe clusters from the tender shoots."
Comus.

The finished design is reproduced as plate 10 in *The Shorter Poems of John Milton.*

Sepia wash, touched with white. Size of sheet (6¾ × 9¾). E.1321—1925.

Presented by A. H. Palmer, Esq.

157. Man and Woman seated by the Fire.

The first sketch for an *Il Penseroso* Subject, which, in spite of his attempts, defeated S.P. totally, much to his sorrow.—A.H.P.

See L. R. Valpy's notes on the Milton Series in the catalogue of the posthumous exhibition at The Fine Art Society, 1881–82.

Charcoal. Size of sheet (6 11/16 × 5 1/16). E.1322—1925.

Presented by A. H. Palmer, Esq.

Ref. :—M.H. = HARDIE, Martin : "The Etched Work of Samuel Palmer," *The Print Collector's Quarterly*, III, 207, 1913.
The measurements are given in inches and millimetres, height followed by width.
E.s. = Etched surface ; Pl. = Plate.

158. The Willow. 1850. *First state.* (M.H.1.) (Plate XXV.)
E.s. 3⅝ × 2½ in. ; 90 × 66 mm.
Pl. 4¾ × 3⅝ in. ; 120 × 82 mm.
Signed in lower left-hand corner S. Palmer 1850 (5 *reversed*).
In the first state, there is a white streak across the sky, running from the edge of the plate to the tree, 2 mm. above the cumulus cloud on the left. This is filled up in the later state. In the later state also, there are a few more lines of shading in the upper part of the sky to the right. This state is probably of extreme rarity. This proof was presented to the Victoria and Albert Museum in 1912, together with minute-books, records, and a collection of prints of the old Etching Club, by Colonel W. C. Horsley, son of J. C. Horsley, R.A., the last surviving member of the Club.—The first state was submitted by S. Palmer on his admission to the Etching Club, 1850. [It should be noted that the tree in this etching was practically copied from a careful water-colour study made from nature, and of a much larger size. Such a proceeding was very rare in any of Palmer's work. In this case, it may have been due, partly to a feeling of timidity in a new process, or, partly to a prudent wish not to endanger his election by anything too characteristic or ambitious.—A.H.P.]

E.1089—1912.

Presented by Col. W. C. Horsley.

159. The Willow. *Published state.*
The etching, in this state, appeared as an illustration to *The Life and Letters of Samuel Palmer*, by A. H. Palmer, 1892.
Excellent proof : sample for printing : probably by F. Goulding.—A.H.P.

Lent by A. H. Palmer, Esq.

160. The Willow. *Final state.*
One of 75 impressions, on specially chosen old paper, printed under the supervision of Sir Frank Short, R.A., P.R.E., R.I., Martin Hardie, R.I., R.E., and F. L. Griggs, A.R.A., R.E., before the cancelling of the plate. A small etched triangle has been added in the lower margin on the left, to identify the final printing, and each proof is signed in pencil : "F.S.—M.H.—F.L.G."
Plate destroyed.

E.1455—1926.

Presented by A. H. Palmer, Esq.

161. The Skylark. 1850. Original design for the etching, with diagonals, and separate study for the figure, in pencil.
Inscribed in pencil (1st Sketch for Skylark).
Pen, touched with white. Size of sheet (7¼ × 4¼).

Lent by A. H. Palmer, Esq.

162. The Skylark. 1850. *Working proof*, 1. (M.H.2.)

E.s. 3¾×2¾ in.; 95×74 mm.
Pl. 4¼×4⅛ in.; 123×115 mm.
Etched on a steel plate.
In this working proof, the etched surface is only 95 mm. in height. The skylark is smaller than in the next working proof. The branch of the tree that juts right out above the mountain has not yet been added. No tree to left of cottage.
Signed in pencil Samuel Palmer.

Lent by A. H. Palmer, Esq.

163. The Skylark. *Working proof*, 2. (Plate XXV.)

The etched surface still only 95 mm. in height. A suggestion in pencil for filling in the additional foreground. The branch added in pencil to the tree on the right. A tree, cutting against the sky, added in pencil in the middle distance to the right of the figure.
"He not only turned accident, and often very untoward accident, to account, but produced from it latent qualities which far eclipsed any qualities that would have arisen from greater precision and certainty. For example, he writes:—'I used to sit down to etching with becoming gravity, though the work had sometimes a rather negative bearing; for I remember once spending a whole day in nearly burnishing out a sky that was over-bitten. The perverse acid *would* bite skies and nothing else; but being spared to attempt another, I humbly trust to go half through the copper.' This plate was *The Skylark*, and the delicate upward flush of early dawn over thin vaporous cloud was the result of the day's elbow-grease directed, not by knowledge of any etching technicality, but by knowledge of one of the most beautiful effects in nature." (*Life and Letters of Samuel Palmer*, 1892, p. 99.)
Signed in pencil Samuel Palmer.

Lent by Martin Hardie, Esq., R.I., R.E.

164. The Skylark. *First state.*

The etched surface 99 mm. in height. The plate not yet cut down. The tree added in its final position between the figure and the cottage. [Rare state before the plate was cut down.—A.H.P.]
Signed in pencil S. Palmer *and on the back* Very scarce, S. Palmer.

Lent by A. H. Palmer, Esq.

165. The Skylark. *Second state.*

The plate cut down (4⅛ × 3⅞ in.; 118 × 97 mm.) and the margin cleaned. On India paper. Published as plate 17 of *Etchings for the Art Union of London by the Etching Club*, 1857.
Signed S. Palmer. *Lettered in margin* Samuel Palmer, 17.
Plate destroyed.

E.3730—1902.

166. The Rising of the Skylark.

Reproduction of a sepia sketch for a small oil-painting of the Shoreham period. This picture was, as I remember it, strong and rich in colour; but though not outrageously

Shorehamesque, it had the indescribable appeal of all the work of that period. It was one of the favourites of John Giles, who is so frequently mentioned in the *Memoir of Edward Calvert*; and ultimately he bought it. At the Giles sale at Christie's in February 1881, it realised £89 5s. 0d. This familiar and exquisite incident of English country life strongly appealed to the etcher. There was a notice in *The Pall Mall Gazette* of the Palmer Exhibition at the Fine Art Society's Gallery in 1881. As was often the case, the writer preferred the etchings to the coloured works. He referred to "*The Skylark*, which produced a sort of furore when it appeared, and has enjoyed, ever since, what seems to us an exaggerated reputation."—A.H.P.

Lent by A. H. Palmer, Esq.

167. The Herdsman's Cottage; or, Sunset. 1850. *First state.* (M.H.3.) (Plate XXVI.)

E.s. 3¼×3 in.; 98×76 mm.
Pl. 4¼×4¼ in.; 124×117 mm.
Etched on a steel plate.

Lent by Martin Hardie, Esq., R.I., R.E.

168. The Herdsman's Cottage. *Published state.*

The plate reduced in width to 4 in. Signed "S.P." in lower left-hand margin. Published in *The Portfolio*, 1872, with the mistaken title, "Sunrise"; in *Examples of Modern Etching*, by P. G. Hamerton, 1875, pl. XII; and in *Etching and Etchers*, by P. G. Hamerton, 3rd ed., 1880.
Signed in pencil (twice) Samuel Palmer.

Lent by A. H. Palmer, Esq.

169. Christmas. 1850. Original design for the etching, squared in pencil, and with a separate study for the figure, inscribed "Suggestion by C. W. Cope, R.A."

Inscribed in pencil 1st Sketch for Christmas.
Pen, touched with white. Size of sheet (7¼×4¼).

Lent by A. H. Palmer, Esq.

170. Christmas. (From Bampfylde's Sonnet.) Known also as "Folding the Last Sheep." 1850, and so listed by Mrs. Noseda, of 109 Strand, London. *Working proof.* (M.H.4.)

"With footstep slow, in furry pall y-clad,
His brows enwreathed with holly never sere,
Old Christmas comes, to close the wanèd year,
And aye the shepherd's heart to make right glad;
Who when his teeming flocks are homeward had,
To blazing hearth repairs, and nut-brown beer."

E.s. 3⅞×3⅞ in.; 100×81 mm.
Pl. 4¼×4¼ in.; 124×117 mm.

Etched on a steel plate.
In this working proof, the plate is 4¼ in. (117 mm.) in width. The circumference of the moon incomplete at the lower left-hand side. Horizontal branch of right-hand tree not yet added. The signature written diagonally across the bottom right-hand corner, and almost concealed by the shading. Faint proof, inscribed in pencil: "Printed for Colouring."
Signed in lower right-hand corner S. Palmer.

Lent by A. H. Palmer, Esq.

171. Christmas. *Another impression of working proof.*

Touched by the artist with Indian ink and Chinese-white.
Inscribed in pencil Touched proof.

Lent by Martin Hardie, Esq., R.I., R.E.

172. Christmas. *First state.*

In this state the plate is still uncut. Circumference of the moon completed. New twigs added to the branches of the left-hand tree, horizontal branch added to tree on the right. Diagonal signature obliterated, and "S.Palmer" re-etched parallel to the edge of the plate.

Lent by Martin Hardie, Esq., R.I., R.E.

173. Christmas. *Second state.* (Plate XXV.)

The plate cut to 4 in. (102 mm.) in width, but still before all letters. Annotated by the artist in pencil with directions for printing, including: "A most skilful impression. I do not think it will print fuller than this without getting muddy."
[This proof was, I think, printed by Goulding.—A.H.P.]
Signed in pencil Samuel Palmer.

Lent by A. H. Palmer, Esq.

174. Christmas. *Published state.*

Lettered in small roman type: "S.Palmer," and in italic script: "Christmas. From Bampfylde's Sonnet."
Proof printed on old Japanese paper by F. Goulding, 1877.

Lent by Martin Hardie, Esq., R.I., R.E.

175. Christmas. *Final state.*

One of 75 impressions, on specially chosen old paper, printed under the supervision of Sir Frank Short, R.A., P.R.E., R.I., Martin Hardie, R.I., R.E., and F. L. Griggs, A.R.A., R.E., before the cancelling of the plate. A small etched triangle has been added in the lower margin on the left, to identify the final printing, and each proof is signed in pencil: "F.S.—M.H.—F.L.G."
Plate destroyed. E.1458—1926.

Presented by A. H. Palmer, Esq.

176. The Vine; or, Plumpy Bacchus. *Working proof previous to M.H.5., w.p.1.*

"Come thou monarch of the vine
Plumpy Bacchus with pink eyne."

Two subjects on one plate, from the song in "Antony and Cleopatra," Act ii, scene 7.
E.s., upper subject, 3½×5 in.; 89×127 mm.
E.s., lower subject, 2×4½ in.; 51×113 mm.
Pl. 11⅞×8½; 300×216 mm.
Lower subject still enclosed in oval. Touched with pencil, and with notes in pencil by the artist: "Carry down tint behind woman's mouth. Upper arm dist. woman. Cheek of sleeper toned lower part of thigh darkened upright lines etc."
Signed in pencil, under each subject Samuel Palmer.

Lent by A. H. Palmer, Esq.

177. The Vine. *Working proof*, 1.

Before any lettering or text. In the lower subject, the very lightly etched lines that appear later in the foreground under the oak have not yet been added, and there is roulette work along the top edge. The etched surface is 51×113 mm. The shadow cast by the lower portion of a tree trunk on the extreme right of the upper subject not yet added.
Signed in pencil Samuel Palmer, S.Palmer.

From the Theobald Collection.

Lent by Martin Hardie, Esq., R.I., R.E.

178. The Vine. *Working proof, intermediate between M.H.5, w.p.1 and w.p.2.* (Plate XXVII.)

The lower subject vignetted and etched surface enlarged to 2¼×5 in.; 57×127 mm. After addition of shadow cast by the lower portion of a tree-trunk on the extreme right of the upper subject, but before all letters. Touched with pencil and Indian ink, and with many notes by the artist on small improvements to the plate.
Signed in pencil, under upper subject Samuel Palmer; *under lower subject* S.Palmer.

Lent by A. H. Palmer, Esq.

179. The Vine. *Published state.*

With title at the top, six lines of Shakespeare's song in the centre, and "Samuel Palmer," in small capitals, under each subject. Published in *Songs and Ballads of Shakespeare Illustrated by the Etching Club*, 1852. On India paper.
Plate destroyed.

E.1888—1919.

Presented by Mrs. J. Merrick Head.

180. The Sleeping Shepherd — Early Morning. *Working proof*, 1. (M.H.6.)

E.s., 3¾×3⅞ in.; 96×78 mm.
Pl. 4⅛×4⅛ in.; 125×117 mm.
Etched on a steel plate.
The visible eye of the shepherd is a mere slit. There is no depth in the shadows. The vine leaves above the shepherd's raised knee are white, and project into the centre of the plate. Two peaks are seen behind the distant figure of the ploughman.

Lent by A. H. Palmer, Esq.

181. The Sleeping Shepherd—Early Morning. *First state.* (Plate XXV.)

The visible eye of the shepherd is a circular patch of shadow. There is deep shadow between the cloth hanging on the wall to the extreme left, and the vine. The vine is darker, and part of the lowest branch has disappeared. Behind the ploughman, only one peak can be seen. Scarce state before the plate was cut down. A series of short black lines in the lower margin and a group of dots at the lower right-hand corner. Proof on India paper.

Signed S. Palmer. *Inscribed on back in pencil* Very scarce S. Palmer.

Lent by A. H. Palmer, Esq.

182. The Sleeping Shepherd—Early Morning. *Second state.*

The plate cut to 4⅛ in. (103 mm.) in width, and the lower margin cleaned. On India paper. 236.

183. The Sleeping Shepherd—Early Morning. *Third state.*

Published as plate 5 of *Etchings for the Art Union of London by the Etching Club*, 1857. On India paper.
There is, I believe, a counter-proof of this plate in existence, coloured in water-colour. —A.H.P.
Lettered in italic script Samuel Palmer, 5.
Plate destroyed. E. 3718—1902.

184. The Rising Moon. Known also as "An English Pastoral." *Working proof, previous to M.H.7, w.p.*1.

E.s., 4⅛×7⅛ in.; 117×194 mm.
Pl. 7×9⅞ in.; 177×252 mm.
Before the name lettered on the left, and before the signature, "S.P." The cloud that, in the published state, touches the moon on the right, here runs over its edge and is clearly outlined against it. The diagonal lines of shadow that run from the trough to the lower right-hand corner are not yet added. There is still a white space on the left-hand side of the moon; the turret on the left-hand side at the top of the church tower shows clearly with a considerable white light on its right-hand side; below, on the water, is a white streak.
Signed S.Palmer.

Lent by Martin Hardie, Esq., R.I., R.E.

185. The Rising Moon. *Working proof*, 1.

Before the name lettered on the left, and before the signature, "S.P." White space on the left-hand side of the moon filled in. The light on the water reduced. The church turret has disappeared, except for a speck of light. Diagonal shadows in right-hand bottom corner not yet added. Touched proof.
Exhibited at Wolverhampton, 1892.

Lent by A. H. Palmer, Esq.

186. The Rising Moon. *Working proof*, 3.

With signature, "S.P." added, but before the name lettered on the left. Diagonal shadows added in left-hand bottom corner. Considerably more work in the sky, including a set of diagonal lines to the left of the moon. Plate still measures 177×252 mm. Scarce state before plate was cut down.
Inscribed in the artist's handwriting Best impression.

Lent by A. H. Palmer, Esq.

187. The Rising Moon. *First state.* (Plate XXXII.)

Plate cut down to 147×222 mm. Numbered "10," and lettered "Samuel Palmer." Published as Plate 10 of *Etchings for the Art Union of London by the Etching Club*, 1857.

E. 1889—1919.

Presented by Mrs. J. Merrick Head.

188. The Rising Moon. *Later state.*

"10" erased.

Of this plate, several counter-proofs were taken in brownish ink, and on drawing paper, with a view of colouring them.—A.H.P.

Plate destroyed.

Lent by Martin Hardie, Esq., R.I., R.E.

189. The Herdsman; or, Tardus Bubulcus. 1858. (*See Appendix, p.* 76.) *Working proof* 1. (M.H.8.) (Plate XXVIII.)

E.s. 5⅛×7⅛ in.; 132×201 mm.
Pl. 7⅜×10⅛ in.; 194×263 mm.
There are large white spaces, quite untouched, in the sky. The circumference of the moon is incomplete at the lower right-hand side. Broad straight smoke ascends from two cottage chimneys.
Inscribed in pencil First proving July 3 '58.

Lent by Martin Hardie, Esq., R.I., R.E.

190. The Herdsman. *Working proof, 1st intermediate between M.H.*8, *w.p.* 1 *and w.p.* 2.

The circumference of the moon completed. The smoke from the two chimneys has been worked over, and is no longer visible.
Exhibited at Wolverhampton, 1892.

Lent by A. H. Palmer, Esq.

191. The Herdsman. *Working proof, 2nd intermediate between M.H.8, w.p. 1 and w.p. 2.*

Smoke replaced above the chimneys in narrower, more wavy wisps. The lines in the upper left part of the moon not yet added. Blank spaces in the sky worked on. Very black cloud above the moon to the left, and another striking across the disc.

Inscribed in pencil in the artist's handwriting 3 proving No. 1—Dearest More went to Gad's and brought back this proof.

Lent by A. H. Palmer, Esq.

192. The Herdsman. *Another impression of working proof, 2nd intermediate between M.H.8, w.p. 1 and w.p. 2.*

The dark lines striking across the disc of the moon have been scratched out in this proof with a knife or similar instrument.

Printed on a yellowish India paper.

Signed in pencil S. Palmer. *Inscribed* My own impression . . . a former proving—imp. proof stronger (?); *and, on back (twice)* My own impression. S.P.

Lent by A. H. Palmer, Esq.

193. The Herdsman. *Working proof 2.*

The line in the upper left part of the moon not yet added. Dark patches in sky toned down in accordance with scraped proof (above). A quarter-of-an-inch above the moon, light shows through the clouds in the shape of a clear D (in script). In the published state, the upper part of the D is shaded over.

[Earlier, and, in S.P.'s opinion, the better state of the sky.—A.H.P.]

Signed in pencil Samuel Palmer.

Lent by Martin Hardie, Esq., R.I., R.E.

194. The Herdsman. *Working proof 3.*

The lines in the upper part of the moon added. The D has almost disappeared. Elaborate directions for printing written in pencil in the margin by the artist, including: "Sample for printing from. Should Mr. Martin care to take some sample proofs, Mr. Palmer sends this as a sample." On the back, in pencil: "Palmer's sample for printing by, Aug. 1864."

[All the writing upon this proof is S.P.'s own.—A.H.P.]

Lent by A. H. Palmer, Esq.

195. The Herdsman. *Published state.* (Plate XXVIII.)

The same as *working proof* 3, but with the number "4" engraved in the lower margin. Printed on a yellowish India paper. One of the twelve etchings published by Cundall in *A Selection of Etchings by the Etching Club*, 1865.

This plate, in common with others of the 1865 series, was supposed to have been destroyed. About ten years afterwards, however, I discovered that it was in existence, and that impressions were about to be sold. On communicating with the secretary of the Etching Club, this was put a stop to, and the plate bought and destroyed.—A.H.P. R. 3767—1902.

196. The Early Ploughman. Known also as "The Morning Spread upon the Mountains." *Working proof* 2. (M.H.9.) (Plate XXIX.)

E.s. 5¼×7¾ in.; 133×197 mm.
Pl. 7×9¾ in.; 179×251 mm.
Before the addition of the rays of light shooting up into the sky. The dark shadows under the arches of the bridge not yet expressed. Various pencil touches in sky.
Inscribed in pencil For retouching sky—Sky high light wiped; *and, on back* Probably printed by Gad or Martin.

Lent by Martin Hardie, Esq., R.I., R.E.

197. The Early Ploughman. *Working proof* 3.

The bridge is now distinct, and the rays of light are partly added. Where some rays in a later state form a Y slanting to the right, only the top of the Y now appears. The third tree from the left in the right-hand group has still a rounded top.
Inscribed in pencil No 2. Thursday, June 8; *and, on the back* 2. Thursday, June 8. More black than Brown.

Lent by A. H. Palmer, Esq.

198. The Early Ploughman. *Working proof* 4. (Plate XXIX.)

Before publication in *Etching and Etchers*, but apparently in the same state. The third tree from the left in the right-hand group now has a pointed top. A dark tree has been added, half filling the space in the sky between the two trees on the right.
See *Etching and Etchers*, Chapter on Samuel Palmer, 1st edition. The plate was used as an illustration to that work (to face p. 144), and with reference to it, the author, P. G. Hamerton, remarks: "If the reader will entirely detach his mind from all preconceived notions of what good etching has hitherto been or ought to be, and simply look upon this work as a piece of artistic expression, without reference to the means used, he can scarcely fail to receive the sensation of richness and beauty. The etching affects us as a picture does; it is mellow and full, like work from a flowing brush. . . . In the bridge on the left, where a pure etcher would have given frank lines of structure, the utmost care is taken to avoid them; and even when, as in the black marking of the arches or of the tree trunk which comes across these, there are what appear to be something like lines, these are not true and simple lines, but elaborate imitations of brush-work with the etching-needle. All through the foreground we have the same steady resolve, carried out with infinite mastery of resource, to obtain as nearly as possible the results of painting, and you cannot find a pure etched line a quarter of an inch long that dares to stand on its own merit. By a system of laborious retouching and stopping-out, the herbage is everywhere tenderly and artistically suggested, and the etched line as carefully annihilated. The sky is completely successful, for it well renders the first flush of morning on a roof of undulating cloud; but the success has been purchased at a great and evident cost of toil, and many parts of it bear a marked resemblance to the best modern engravings."
Signed S. Palmer.

Lent by A. H. Palmer, Esq.

199. The Early Plough[illegible]man. *Proof from re-bitten plate.*

The only proof in existence of this state. Private press.—A.H.P.

Lent by A. H. Palmer, Esq.

200. The Early Ploughman. *Proof from re-bitten and re-worked plate.*

The plate has been re-worked, particularly in the sky and the foreground. A level horizontal cloud runs just below the summit of the distant hill across to the trees. The streak of light marked in one touched example of *working proof* 4, has been introduced under the central arch of the bridge. (*See Appendix.*)

Signed in pencil Samuel Palmer. *Inscribed* Finished state. E. 1892—1919.

Presented by Mrs. J. Merrick Head.

201. The Early Ploughman. *Final state.*

One of 75 impressions, on specially chosen old paper, printed under the supervision of Sir Frank Short, R.A., P.R.E., R.I., Martin Hardie, R.I., R.E., and F. L. Griggs, A.R.A., R.E., before the cancelling of the plate. A small etched triangle has been added in the lower margin on the left, to identify the final printing, and each proof is signed in pencil: "F.S.—M.H.—F.L.G."

Plate destroyed. E. 1461—1926.

Presented by A. H. Palmer, Esq.

202. Autograph letter from J. C. Hook, inviting Palmer to bring a plate to prove at the Etching Club meeting. (The plate brought was that described next below.)

Lent by A. H. Palmer, Esq.

203. The Morning of Life. *Working proof, intermediate between M.H.*10, *w.p.*1 *and w.p.*2. (Plate XXX.)

E.s. 5⅛×8⅛ in.; 137×208 mm.

Pl. 7⅛×10 in.; 181×253 mm.

The subject was known in the original state as *Hercules and Cacus.* As will easily be detected at the top, the etched surface was afterwards added to. Hercules was changed to the kneeling woman, and the fleeing Cacus to one of the sheepwashers. The plate was successively known as *Sheepwashing, A Leafy Dell,* and *The Morning of Life.* At a meeting of the Etching Club at Mr. J. C. Hook's house, Sir Francis Seymour Haden printed at the Club press a number of impressions explanatory of retroussage, none of which was very successful.—A.H.P.

After filling in of figures, and introduction of the basket and apples beside the kneeling woman. It is clear that the etched surface was originally 124×198 mm., and that a marginal strip, slightly different in biting, was added all round, making it 137×208 mm. Proof by Sir F. Seymour Haden, and copiously annotated by him: "As this is in all respects a bad proof, I take it for making remarks upon. Ink too thin — lines not well

filled — consequent want of solidity, colour, etc. This piece of copper, over and above what is necessary to the subject, I entirely object to — it defaces the proof — spoils the paper — and encreases (*sic*) the labour and difficulty of printing. The great Etchers usually left about as much copper round the subject as I have expressed in the line A, in fact they usually etched up to the edge of the copper and *left as much of the pure paper* round the proof as they cared to show as margin.

"All this dirty portion ought to be pure paper as at (B) with the wire mark visible in it. As much of this paper may be left as margin as the artist pleases, or as suits the subject. ¾ of an inch top & sides and 1 in. & ½ at bottom is the rule, but provided the top and sides are equal any quantity may be left at bottom provided it is greater." Note in pencil on mount: "Long letter from Sir F. Seymour Haden accompanies this proof." (See below, No. 204.)

Signed S. Palmer.

Lent by A. H. Palmer, Esq.

204. Autograph letter from Sir F. Seymour Haden. (See above, No. 203.)

62 Sloane S^{t} S.W. June 23. 1869

My Dear M^{r} Palmer

Excuse this very official paper.

I send you back the proofs, having retained the one you kindly permitted me to take. None of them are good owing to 3 things —1 defective, unsteady, apparatus: 2 loss of time in wiping false margin during w^{h} plate cools: 3 an ink too thin for the style of engraving.

1. Owing to the first of these *impedimenta* the plate did not, as the printers say, begin "to work" till towards the end of the experiment — so that Hooks impression, w^{h} I think is the last one, is the only fair sample of what the plate will give. If, when you have done more work on it, you will favour me by bringing the plate *here*, I will, with 3 days notice of your coming, undertake to furnish you with a better result

2. The evil of the false margin — I have dilated upon by notes on the plate itself.

3. The matter of ink, & mode of engraving, may be considered together, as one depends on the other. Your particular mode of engraving w^{h} is, no doubt, intended by you to produce certain results and which all who admire your works know that it does produce is nevertheless a difficulty to the printer. I will endeavour to explain this.

Your plate is not all etched — but a mixture of etching and burin work — &, working as an artist and not as a mechanical engraver, the difference in strength w^{h} you put between the

Etched work & the burin work is great. This leads to a difficulty in the printing. An ink stiff enough to show the fine etched line will be too stiff for the burin line & an ink thin enough to suit the burin line will be too thin to show the etched line. To print both lines in such a way as to place them in harmonious relation is, both as to ink and manipulation, almost impossible — hence the " softening " operation w^h^ you saw me *attempt* & w^h^ appeared to amuse you. I have placed x x in ink on the annotated proof to show what I mean : the burin line takes the force and color out of the etched line and makes it grey — & the greyness of the Etched line makes the other black. To bring the two into relation there must be an *etched* line intermediate in strength between the two — and it must be an *etched* line because a burin line, however fine, prints black — there is nothing in common between the *quality* of the two lines — one is always grey, soft, and tender — the other always black, hard & self asserting. Pray understand that I am now speaking, as a journeyman printer, of the *technique*, not of the *Art*, and acquit me of even the appearance of an impertinent suggestion as to the latter which you understand better than I. Your plates interest me so much and are so artistic in their construction that one finds oneself analyzing them and endeavouring to account for their excellencies. Now the burin, tho' *you* manage to use it effectively, is, in the hands of most artists, a wilful, uncongenial sort of instrument ill suited to the Etcher — an instrument which I dislike — & which, whatever the books say to the contrary, was *never* used by Rembrandt — or any of the great Etchers — an instrument which was invented to stamp out Etching and which accordingly has stamped it out to the detriment of Art & of the insouciance and freedom which is expressive of the Art faculty. The vigorous use of the dry point, in the hands of Rembrandt on the other hand served every purpose, and united & strengthened — tempered and harmonized — heightened and lowered the work — all at the same time — instances of all w^h^ I could show you in the greatest etchings of the greatest masters

But I am forgetting that I am or should be writing as a printer & not as an Etcher and that, if I say much more in the same strain, I am in danger of finding myself your very obedient instead of your sincere & really humble admirer.

F. Seymour Haden.

[*Postscript to Haden's letter overleaf.*] The "Early ploughman"; a most grateful present & a beautiful proof besides — and I shall put it, together with my *trial* proof of this last plate, in a place of honour.

Samuel Palmer Esq^r^

I have thought it better to cut away the dirty plate mark & to sacrifice the fine paper — than to leave it (except in Hooks impression).

Lent by A. H. Palmer, Esq.

205. The Morning of Life. *Another impression of working proof intermediate between M.H.*10, *w.p.*1 *and w.p.*2.

Printed by Sir F. Seymour Haden. *Inscribed in pencil, in the latter's handwriting* Curious proof — very positive and brilliant, owing to paper. Shows what plate will give in the darks; *and, inscribed by A. H. Palmer* "Inscription by the Printer, Sir Francis Seymour Haden, Club Press at Silverbeck when Mr. Hook was Host. I beg to differ from Sir F. S. H. This proof does not show what the plate would give anywhere. It has been wiped to death. Compare with 209."

Lent by A. H. Palmer, Esq.

206. The Morning of Life. *Another impression of working proof intermediate between M.H.*10, *w.p.*1 *and w.p.*2.

Printed by (?) Delâtre. Inscribed with various directions for printing, in French. *Signed* Samuel Palmer July '69.

Lent by Martin Hardie, Esq., R.I., R.E.

207. The Morning of Life. *Another impression of working proof intermediate between M.H.*10, *w.p.*1 *and w.p.*2.

This was printed by Martin, Junior, and was the nearest to the etcher's ideal which he could secure.—A.H.P.

Inscribed The leafy Dell. A Club meeting Dec^r^ '69. Japan proof. *Inscribed in the artist's handwriting* This proof belongs to A. H. Palmer. December 31st 1873, Samuel Palmer.

Lent by A. H. Palmer, Esq.

208. The Morning of Life. *Working proof* 2.

Plate reduced to 5⅞ × 8¼ in.; 146 × 215 mm. The clean margin of the proof at the top has been worked over with charcoal, though a corresponding addition was never made on the plate; and there are touches of Chinese white in various places where the light was afterwards heightened.

Inscribed in the artist's handwriting Why has that arm of the woman been wiped out so much more than the gleam of light behind her. *Numbered* 4.

Lent by Martin Hardie, Esq., R.I., R.E.

209. The Morning of Life. *Working proof intermediate between M.H.*10, *w.p.*2 *and published state.*

Number "4" in margin almost erased.
Very fine impression by Martin, Junior, under S.P.'s supervision. Exhibited at Wolverhampton. Compare with Haden's proof, no. 205.—A.H.P.
Signed Samuel Palmer.

Lent by A. H. Palmer, Esq.

210. The Morning of Life. *Published state.* (Plate XXX.)

The plate is now lettered in italic script in the lower margin: "Samuel Palmer. The morning of life. 13." Published as plate 13 in *Etchings for the Art Union of London by the Etching Club*, 1872.
Plate destroyed. L. 3756—1902.

211. The Bellman. (From "Il Penseroso.") Completed in 1879. (For original design, see No. 154.) *Working proof* 1. (M.H.11.)

". . . the belman's drousy charm
To bless the doors from nightly harm."

E.s. 6⅝×9⅜ in.; 168×234 mm.
Pl. 7½×9⅝ in.; 191×252 mm.
Sharp-edged triangular patch in sky stretches from chestnut tree on the left to base of highest peak. Immediately to left of peak is a dark patch of sky which is darkened in later states, and becomes part of the mountain. The ground in front of the rising moon not yet broken away. Old lettering in bottom right-hand corner almost burnished out, and over it is written in pencil: "S.PALMER. INV. ET. F. MEAD VALE. REDHILL 1879." Touched with pencil and white by the artist.
A. H. Palmer. Private Press, not flattened.—A.H.P.

Lent by A. H. Palmer, Esq.

212. The Bellman. *Working proof* 2.

Sharp edge of triangular patch to left of highest peak almost burnished out. Portion of sky almost assimilated to outline of the peak, which is now, on its left side, square and precipitous. Hanging branch of tree on right continued in ink so as almost to touch the disc of the moon. Old lettering in bottom right-hand corner still faintly visible. Touched with white by the artist. Notes in pencil by the artist, including:—"3rd Proving, 1st May, 1879."
[Printed on A. H. Palmer's Private Press, which was made according to Goulding's minute directions.—A.H.P.]

Lent by A. H. Palmer, Esq.

213. The Bellman. *Working proof* 3.

Dark portion of sky completely assimilated to left-hand edge of highest peak. The ground in front of the moon broken jaggedly away, but not yet sharply defined. The

small branch drawn in ink in *w.p.*2 etched in. The disc of the moon more sharply defined. New inscription, "S.PALMER. INV. ET. FEC. MEAD VALE. REDHILL 1879" etched in. Touched with white, with note in white against the chestnut tree, "too light." Various notes in pencil by the artist with regard to minor alterations of the plate.

A.H.P. Private Press, 4th Proving, 19th May, 1879.

Lent by A. H. Palmer, Esq.

214. The Bellman. *Proof before letters.*

Jagged outline of crags immediately in front of the moon more sharply defined. Slight alterations to sky in accordance with touching of *w.p.*3.

Signed S.PALMER. INV. ET. FEC. MEAD VALE. REDHILL 1879. *In pencil* Samuel Palmer. *Inscribed in pencil in lower margin* A.H.P. Private Press, 9, 6, 79. Proof before remarque. E.1894—1919.

Presented by Mrs. J. Merrick Head.

215. The Bellman. *Second published state.* (Plate XXXI.)

Remarque, in lower margin at right-hand side, removed.

A.H.P. Private Press. A good sample for Printing; without too much glare and glitter on middle-distant edges &c. for a moon only partly risen. Kindly observe that, in spite of Haden's assertions, this is an exceptionally good proof; but that the margins were cleaned (as they should and must be) while the plate was cold. —A.H.P.

Signed S.PALMER. INV. ET. FEC. MEAD. VALE. REDHILL 1879. *Lettered* The Bellman from "Il Penseroso." Published by the Fine Art Society 148, New Bond Street, London, 1879.

Lent by A. H. Palmer, Esq.

216. The Bellman. *Final state.*

One of 75 impressions, on specially chosen old paper, printed under the supervision of Sir Frank Short, R.A., P.R.E., R.I., Martin Hardie, R.I., R.E., and F. L. Griggs, A.R.A., R.E., before the cancelling of the plate. A small etched triangle has been added in the lower margin on the left, to identify the final printing, and each proof is signed in pencil: "F.S.—M.H.—F.L.G." E.1464—1926.

Presented by A. H. Palmer, Esq.

217. The Lonely Tower. (From "Il Penseroso.") *Working proof* 1. (M.H.12.)

"Or let my lamp at midnight hour
Be seen in some high lonely tow'r."

E.s. 6⅝×9⅛ in.; 168×234 mm.
Pl. 7½×9⅝ in.; 190×254 mm.

The river in the deep gorge is light as far down as the lower edge of the engraved surface. A large, lightly shaded leaf can be seen on the near side of the great boulder in the middle of the composition.
[1st Proving—Clean Canvas. Private Press.—A.H.P.]
Signed Sam. Palmer.

Lent by A. H. Palmer, Esq.

218. The Lonely Tower. *Working proof* 2.

The lower portion of the river vanishes in shadow and suggests smoke rather than water. The owl is much enlarged, and most of the trees are more deeply shaded. Second Proving. After the mishap with the first re-biting ground. One of the proofs which survived a conflagration in Vancouver. See the stains of the water. (See note on p. 87.)—A.H.P.

Lent by A. H. Palmer, Esq.

219. The Lonely Tower. *Working proof* 3.

Considerably more work on the sky. There are now four horizontal bars of light on the horizon, one of them striking across the moon.
A. H. Palmer, Private Press, Newman St. Exhibited at Wolverhampton.—A.H.P.
Signed S. Palmer. *Inscribed on the back in pencil* Club G 11th June. Mr. Head. (?) 1879.

Lent by A. H. Palmer, Esq.

220. The Lonely Tower. *Published state.* (Plate XXVI.)

Numbered " 16 " in the lower left-hand margin. One of the plates in " Il Penseroso," published for the Etching Club by R. Ansdell, 1880.
Signed Samuel Palmer. 29325.16.

221. Opening the Fold; Dawn; or, Early Morning. Original design for the etching, not in reverse.

Divided into squares by ink lines and with pencil diagonals.
Pen, pencil and wash, touched with white. Size of sheet (4⅛ × 5⅛).

Lent by A. H. Palmer, Esq.

222. Opening the Fold. *Working proof* 2. (M.H.13.)

E.s. 4⅛ × 6⅛ in.; 118 × 176 mm.
Pl. 6⅞ × 9⅛ in.; 163 × 231 mm.
With remarque, a spray of harebells, in the lower margn to the left. Before diagonal lines of shading on the distant mountains. The man opening the fold holds his head almost upright, not bent to his right, as in later states. The two distant figures in the left are not yet drawn, but white spaces are left for them.
[First proving. The only proof of this state in existence. Private Press.—A.H.P.]
Signed S. Palmer inv. fec.

Lent by A. H. Palmer, Esq.

223. Opening the Fold. *Working proof* 3.

With remarque. Touched by the artist, and with his notes, and a sketch of a sheep in the margin. Private Press.

E.638—1911.

224. Opening the Fold. *Second state.*

With remarque, and publication line: "Published by the Fine Art Society, 148, New Bond Street, London, W. 1880."
Stamped "Private Press."
A.H.P.'s Sample for Printing. Exhibited at Wolverhampton.—A.H.P.
Signed in pencil S. Palmer.

Lent by A. H. Palmer, Esq.

225. Opening the Fold. *Third state.*

With publication line only.
Signed S. Palmer. *Inscribed in pencil* Private Press A.H.P.

Lent by A. H. Palmer, Esq.

226. Opening the Fold. *Published state.* (Plate XXXII.)

"And folded flocks were loose to browse anew
O'er mountain thyme or trefoil wet with dew."

Published as an illustration to *An English Version of the Eclogues of Virgil*, by Samuel Palmer, 1883.
Size of plate reduced to $5\frac{11}{16} \times 8\frac{7}{16}$ in.; 150×215 mm. Lettered, instead of publication line, with two lines of verse.
Note in pencil by Martin Hardie: "One of 2 or 3 proofs printed by Sir Frank Short—*in brown ink, rag-wiped*, not as by S.P., who used black and insisted on every speck of white showing. M.H." See my notes on *The Morning of Life* (Appendix) re S.P.'s theory of the specks of white—a theory which was modified when I printed my first proofs of *The Early Ploughman*.—A.H.P.
Inscribed in pencil Frank Short imp. 27.11.20.

Lent by Martin Hardie, Esq., R.I., R.E.

227. Opening the Fold. *Final state.*

One of 50 impressions, on specially chosen old paper, printed under the supervision of Sir Frank Short, R.A., P.R.E., R.I., Martin Hardie, R.I., R.E., and F. L. Griggs, A.R.A., R.E., before the cancelling of the plate. A small etched triangle has been added in the lower margin on the left, to identify the final printing, and each proof is signed in pencil: "F.S.—M.H.—F.L.G."
Plate destroyed.

E.1466—1926.

Presented by A. H. Palmer, Esq.

APPENDIX

ADDITIONAL NOTES ON THE ETCHINGS

By A. H. Palmer

Generally, this exhibition shows very clearly how, in Palmer's work, most careful analysis went hand in hand with most imaginative designing. If, in etching, he had tapped the great resources of his analytical knowledge and draughtsmanship, now and then (as for instance the magnificent and very ancient tree trunks of Lullingstone Park), I am inclined to think that he might have done etched work as much to Ruskin's satisfaction as the tree-drawing which Ruskin eulogises in *Modern Painters.*

With the public verdict of seventy-four years (although I have not seen a tenth part of it), I feel content, and more than content. It has been kindly to a very high degree, even when written by those whose sympathies were almost entirely with etching of a totally different school. It has been, so far as I know, unanimous both in the press and privately. Maybe, that some day Mr. Rossetti's prophecy will be fulfilled—namely, that the realistic side of Palmer's art "on which he touches the many," will cause his work to grow in influence.

One of the objects of this exhibition was to demonstrate that the purely realistic and analytical side of that art was, from the very first, closely allied with the purely imaginative—that he continually turned from one to the other—thus vindicating Edgar Allan Poe's words: "It will be found that the ingenious are always fanciful and the truly imaginative never otherwise than analytic."

In all Palmer's art-teaching, or in the examples he made for his pupils' use, there was not one attempt to inoculate them with those artistic ideals by which, if his name goes down to posterity, he will be known. But there was a ceaseless effort to emphasize the importance of that universally unpopular pair, "Elements and Accuracy."

Although my father once wrote that the destruction of an etched plate seemed to him like "the murder of a mind," I have followed the best advice in Europe, most generously given at the cost of much time and trouble, and all the plates in my possession have been finally cancelled by one of the usual methods. This is a fate far more merciful than that

they should have been ultimately sold and condemned to the lingering death and dishonour which has befallen plates by illustrious hands.

Three eminent artists and etchers have, out of regard for Samuel Palmer's work and memory, done that memory the honour to attend to the plates' obsequies. They have done this even to printing some of the final impressions with their own hands. In the whole of my father's life there was no such incident as this. The devotion of the "Ancients" to each other was as nothing to it. For brevity's sake I gave to the three artists the name of "The Trio." When any future collector sees the little equilateral triangle which symbolizes the three etchers (and also their initials F. S., F. L. G. and M.H.,) on the margin of an etching by their fellow craftsman, he will know that of all the kindly things which have been written and done in connection with Samuel Palmer and his work, none approaches theirs.

THE HERDSMAN'S COTTAGE

Catalogue, nos. 167, 168

The story of this plate was not one upon which the etcher looked back with much satisfaction. In one of a series of letters to Palmer, dated 6th September 1870, P. G. Hamerton asked for the loan of an etching for *The Portfolio*. But the events which followed the loan of *The Early Ploughman* for *Etching and Etchers* were still rankling, and the request was refused. It was repeated, and Palmer reluctantly named a price. To this Hamerton replied: "Seeley though a prudent publisher is by no means a niggardly one and does not hesitate in paying in quite a princely fashion when he can make it answer to do so. It seems you want 35 gs, for your little plate. If we went by our tastes and feelings we should give it without hesitation, but as things are, Seeley would do better, I think, to wait a bit. . . ." Later Hamerton wrote as follows: "I will tell you exactly how we stand. The series of commissions for etchings if they were to pay would not allow Mr. Seeley to give more than £20 for each plate (that is to say buying it outright), but we can get some plates for less. But I would recommend him to offer you £25 . . . I purposely apply to you in good time so that you need not be hurried. What if you were to get a plate agoing and keep it by you for some months till it seemed to have grown into a condition of sufficiently developed beauty?" These were not random words. The author of *Etching and Etchers* knew fairly well what such ripening as that which he suggested had involved in Palmer's early plates; also that the painter-etcher of Furze Hill House would allow no unripe fruit to leave those premises. But Hamerton appeared to think that the bonus of £5 would be irresistible —a bonus, say, of twenty-five shillings a month of ripening. His letter

then proceeded to convey his expert opinion on etching skies, the fruition of which will be found in Plate V of the first edition of *The Etcher's Handbook*, and in his copy of the bows of *The Agamemnon*. Nevertheless his estimate of the value of Palmer's time led to a third refusal. The sum named for a slowly ripened plate was not much more than the etcher had received for a single proof of one of his earlier etchings.

But my father was now, with sharpened quill, and gum, and scissors, adding the last touches to his *English Version of the Eclogues*. Already he had allowed himself the rapture of imagining himself as correcting the proof to the "thousandth part of the tail of a comma;" for in one of his letters he referred to himself as painting with his left hand but writing with the other. He had already dreamed the dream of a design for each Eclogúe, which should skim the cream of all his knowledge and embody all his love of Virgil. The thought came that Hamerton and Seeley were the men of all others who could solve this one great problem of his old age.

So it came to pass, near the end of 1871, that he sold the plate of his *Sunset;* and in due course the etching appeared in *The Portfolio* (with appropriate comments) as *Sunrise*.[1] In addition to the money he received certain proofs, according to my recollection.

I have a note made many years ago about the sale or transfer of this plate by Messrs. Seeley & Co. to a firm of printsellers; and I have their price-list on which the etching appears. I still have a vivid impression of the kindliness and liberality of the Brothers Seeley; and more especially of the illimitable patience and courtesy with which they met the gaucherie and fussiness of tyro authorship. I feel sure that they did what was right in this matter.

CHRISTMAS

Catalogue, nos. 169–175

The contrast between moonlight and rushlight or candle in the "primitive cottage" or with a forge was a favourite with the etcher. Another example will be found in this exhibition (No. 113).

It was with this plate that I made my first attempt in artificial printing, when Goulding was teaching me at the Furze Hill private press. We had got over the first stages of the printer's art very quickly the same day. It now came to a matter of "hands;" and, more especially, to those very things which my father had been endeavouring to teach me for years. In the first case, entomology had taught me lightness of touch beyond anything needed in printing. Goulding printed a proof showing

[1] All modern catalogues refer to this plate as *The Herdsman's Cottage*.

the full benefits of what he then called *retroussage*, and cleaned the margin. He then stood back and said nothing more. His teaching had been so absolutely clear all along, so admirably worded, and so kind, that I practically reproduced his proof. This was the foundation laid on which my father at once began to build; the troubles of nearly a quarter of a century were over.

I do not think that the possession of "the palm of a duchess" has much to do with successful printing, surgery, horology, or other delicate manipulations. To skin a Golden-Crested Wren, or to pin and set a specimen of the Tineidæ Family, is a far more severe test than the *retroussage* of an etching. Surely it was Goulding's wonderful quickness and power of assimilation of the teaching of such a man as Sir Francis Seymour Haden and others, backed by the absence of all prejudice and pride (if absence can back a thing) that turned his prehensile hands to such wonderful account. Samuel Palmer's hands were small and delicate, but they were not naturally prehensile. He would never have been a good pistol-shot or fly-fisher.

Some malignant spirit prompted the photographer who took Goulding's portrait in Mr. Hardie's *Life*[1] to conceal that wonderful right hand which so many of us watched at its magic. He should have been shown holding the *filthy* canvas with which so much could be done; or the filmy muslin with which he made so many reputations that the following words appeared in the notice of his death in *The Times*:—

> "His quickness in seizing the artist's idea was only equalled by his power of getting the best possible effects out of the plates by the younger artists who needed guidance. Many an exhibition of the Royal Society of Painter Etchers and Engravers has been, from one point of view, almost a 'one man show' by Frederick Goulding."

In the place of the vainglory of a Master Craftsman was avidity to learn, great generosity in teaching all he could, and a natural dignity which none could affront with impunity. So we find the rich, masterful and superlatively brilliant autocrat who tore the poor old Etching Club limb from limb, writing to Goulding in terms of affection, equality, and respect.

THE HERDSMAN

Catalogue, nos. 189–195

Samuel Palmer left behind him copious notes on the biting and stopping out of this plate. The ground was laid by the etcher and the work begun about the middle of May 1858, lasting for six weeks. Abridged these notes are as follows:—

"First biting in June 1. hour; with one part of Nitrous acid to 4½ of

[1] *Frederick Goulding, Master Printer of Copper Plates*, 1910.

water. Hot weather, but no artificial heat used." "In the sky, only the darkest bars of cloud and darker masses of cloud and azure—deep azure of moonlight were etched." "All the sky stopped out. Great care used to do so neatly against distant hills and leaves of tree." "Stopped out high lights on the backs of cattle and all the figure except extreme darks between folds of drapery . . . . removed, split, or narrowed with Brunswick black lines which were bitten too broad for their place, or were likely to embarrass. Removed, split, dotted or narrowed intersections of lines likely to become spots. S.O. the highest light in foreground."

"Second biting about one hour. . . . Stopped or dotted the deepest bitings in the distance. S.O. the smoke in cottage. Stopped over the broad lights on cattle. Stopped the figure wholly, and went over the whole, stopping, painting, dotting, or splitting the widening lines. . . ."

"I think we may be free to use close hatching and repeated cross hatchings with the NEEDLE if very careful with the partial STOPPINGS."

"Third biting, June 21st 1½ hours—" "Mr. Barlow says that George Cook said that FIVE MINUTES of careful stoppings out, were worth a DAY'S WORK on the etching itself."

"June 22 began by minutely stopping out the now numerous places in the distance where the lines had bitten broad enough . . . stopped out round the figure a little beyond the outline. I also continued broken shadows strongly with the needle and in deep shadows split or mended parts which were biting too broadly." "22nd June. Increased strength of acid from 4½ to 1 acid, to 4 water to 1 acid. Fourth Biting, ¼ hour. S.O. hundreds of particles. . . . 23rd June. 5th Biting, ¼ hour. Then stopped out whole of cattle &c., so the darkest parts of the cattle were bitten 4 hours. By this time nearly the whole of the distance was stopped. 6th Biting ¼ hour, making the deepest shadows under the chestnut tree, and the darkest lines of shadow in near tree trunk 4¼ hours."

"A new light bursts upon me! Let me have always a wiped and an unwiped proof and work from unwiped impressions — except in the focuses. Thus the work may have more of the vigour and texture of old woodcuts and the plate will be less worn." [Here is a very emphatic addition to the arguments of all those who have asserted or still assert that Palmer is not an etcher and that his plates are not etchings. He rejoices — and very prematurely as it happened — in the hope that, by some blessed miracle, the printer will give him proofs with the texture of old woodcuts! He had no desire whatever to be called a true etcher.] He proceeds:— "I then did a good deal with the graver, but left the sky, and on July 3. (1858) Mr. Gad took 4 proofs during . . . punching up &c. Also two other proofs not wiped at all, or as he calls it wiped to the canvas; i.e. as far as the canvas wiping but not as far as the muslin wiping; and

another wiped to the muslin, this last I think is a most excellent way of printing — acting on the etching as a glazing on the prepared picture and I think it will save a great deal of work, add mystery, and be my best plan for the future."

Apparently there was no particular reason for using the graver, for there had been no mischances. I take it as demonstrating that the principal object in all Palmer's work was the strong appeal of the subject to himself, and through himself, maybe, to others. Also to bring out certain qualities in that subject which revealed themselves in the first vision. He had a vehement and outspoken admiration for certain etchings which are widely dissimilar. Claude's for instance; Holman Hunt's *Desolation of Egypt*, of which he said, "I entirely love it;" *The Drudging Goblin*, by Townsend; and probably Rembrandt's portrait with cap and feather. It is scarcely to be supposed that he asked any questions as to how they were produced. He never, for three minutes together, tried to be what he was informed was a true etcher; nor would he have done so if he had been reduced to his last sixpence and his last plate.

In my father's commonplace-book there were many notes relating to the progress of other early plates, but not any which gives a better idea of his general method, than the account of *The Ploughman Going Home*. That and the equivalent *Tardus Bubulcus* are the original and proper titles of the plate. What he intended to represent was the ploughman with his yoke, weary and slow, catching the first glimpse of the little twinkling lattice among the chestnuts and oaks, where supper awaits him; and where in the great shadows cast by the moon, the oxen can chew the cud and rest. There is thus a sort of companionship with the Italian ploughman who begins his vigorous labour as the sun rises in a glorious flush of crimson and gold behind the solemn cypresses. The title *Herdsman* is nonsense, and destroys the significance of the plate, and its connection with Gray's *Elegy*, which was fully preserved by the Latin version; but as it has been generally used, and the print is familiar to dealers and to the public under that name, it must be allowed to stand.

In a note on page 330 of the 1876 edition of *Etching and Etchers*, Hamerton wrote:—"The reader acquainted with technical matters will learn with some surprise that Mr. Palmer never once had recourse to re-biting. This only shows the remarkable skill with which he manages the acid—a skill the more remarkable that he had etched so few plates." In my father's commonplace-book, notes describing the re-biting of *The Ploughman Going Home* (in three bitings) were made. The date was September 1861. (See also note on re-biting of *The Early Ploughman*.)

THE EARLY PLOUGHMAN

Catalogue, nos. 196–201

The Morning Spread upon the Mountains was listed and sold by Mrs. Noseda of 109, Strand, London, in the 'sixties and under that title; but it afterwards became known as *The Early Ploughman*. On the 28th of July 1867, P. G. Hamerton wrote to Samuel Palmer from Pré Charmoy thus:—"I am now wondering whether you could persuade yourself to be represented in my book by the plate called 'The Early Ploughman.' I would have it steeled at my expense and every possible care would be taken of the plate . . . your plate would be returned to you in a state not inferior to its present condition and its value could scarcely, I think, be reduced by the fact of its having been chosen for insertion in my book on the art of Etching. . . . In case you have no objection to lend the plate on the terms mentioned (100 fr:=£4.) please send it to my printer. I should have been glad to offer more—well let us say £5 instead of £4. I know even £5 is a very small sum but the whole success of the book must depend on its not being too dear . . . several artists have lent plates for nothing—not that I mean this as a hint for you, but merely to explain how we have been able to bring out such a volume at such a price."

The plate was sent, and nothing more was heard of it for more than eight months. It was already well known, and had been well received. Therefore Palmer set about the task of getting it back, and he wrote several times in vain. On the 22nd May 1868, Hamerton wrote:—"I cannot tell you how much I was grieved to learn . . . that you have not yet received your plate. I have myself written most urgently to —— and this time I will write him such a letter as he never read in his life and withdraw my custom from him, and the custom of my friends and publishers. I am placed . . . in a most painful position. You had the kindness to lend me a valuable plate for a nominal rent and the least we could have done would be to comply immediately with your wishes."

In due course our first private press was put up at Furze Hill House. I had my own notions how *The Early Ploughman* might be printed, in spite of its disgraceful treatment, and I pulled a proof or two which astonished my father, and established a standard which, according to his emphatic wish, was adhered to until the plate was re-bitten. It was an absolutely different standard from the old one. Of this Hamerton knew nothing. He wrote desiring that I should print him "one copy to complete a defective copy of *Etching and Etchers*." Two were sent, and they led to the following comment in the 1876 edition of *Etching and Etchers*:—"I always greatly admired this plate, but the full beauty of it was unsuspected until Mr. Palmer set up a printing-press in his own house. . . .

In November and December 1873 . . . his son kindly took two proofs for me, which for the first time made me fully acquainted with the merits not only of this particular work, but of its author's method of etching." Finally the plate was re-bitten. As there are some persons, nowadays, who are interested in Palmer's etching technique, it may be said that whereas the tone and effect of the proofs of *The Early Ploughman* plate printed by me at the private press from November 1873 to the date of re-biting, were got by the full resources of special ink, laboriously ground, and of artificial printing, the tone and most of the effect of the "finished state" after the re-biting, were due to that re-biting. The re-biting, in fact, was given chiefly because of the difficulty of compensating by *retroussage* for the result of the maltreatment in France.

I imagine from what I have read, here and there, that personal supervision by my father, proof by proof, is supposed to have followed the advent of the first private press and the conclusion of Goulding's lessons in 1873. But in no case did he criticise until the proofs were printed; and in very few cases did he even look on during the inking or *retroussage*. My large second press (started in November 1880) and my printing-room at Newman Street he never saw. He now knew the results of proper printing by a person who was aware of his objectives in etching generally, and each plate in particular; but he did not know much more of the technicalities of printing than when he stood by Gad or Martin, striving in vain to make himself understood in a language which, to them, might just as well have been Hebrew. On the advent of the first press, he had, for the first time, no need of an interpreter. For years I had seen the progress of his "blots," monochrome designs, and water-colour drawings. I had written down his views on art, and understood in detail the language in which he expressed them to himself and to an extremely limited audience. Constant surveillance of the printing on his part was therefore unnecessary. On the contrary, he wrote to me insisting on "silence and locked doors" for my kind of printing, as he called it.

THE MORNING OF LIFE

Catalogue, nos. 203, 205–209

None of Samuel Palmer's etchings suffered more from bad printing, in its final edition for the Etching Club works, than this plate. The culprit was Goulding! He told me that the price he received was disgraceful. Of that I have no doubt; for he was then in his cocoon stage, boxed off in a squalid corner of a big room devoted to more important work than printing etchings. He was not yet the glorious creature of Shepherd's Bush Road.

I learn from Mr. Hardie's *Life* of Goulding, that 540 of these awful impressions were printed from the plate of *The Morning of Life*. Fifteen were sent to the loathing etcher—fifteen slaps in the face. The havoc might have been less if the plate had been printed as its predecessors had been printed, but with less savage wiping.

With the advent of the private press, and the revelation as to what I could make of the apparently ruined *Early Ploughman*, my father modified his theory as to the thousands of precious little specks of white in a printed etching. But he was not prepared for a chess-board juxtaposition of gobs of black and white, flopped here and there according to the price paid.

The excuse of bad pay does not seem altogether a valid one. It takes the printer no longer (and therefore filches nothing from his wages) to distribute his lights and darks in the right places than in the wrong, *provided he is sufficiently advanced in Art to know which is right and which is wrong.* Indeed, it would actually take less time to leave a film of ink where it would be valuable, than to wipe it all away. But there is no chance of a professional printer of etchings becoming sufficiently advanced in draughtsmanship, or in the mysteries of tone, and chiaroscuro, and atmospheric perspective, until his craft is sufficiently separated from the trade of copper-plate printing, to enable him to be trained, very early, in a suitable art school. He will then, in time, be in that enviable position which Goulding alone seems to have appreciated. He will constantly receive a series of lessons from painter-etchers—from accomplished artists, in that theoretical knowledge which will vitalise and dominate his own mechanical knowledge. Instead of paying for this inestimable privilege, he will be paid.

The arrival of the Etching Club work of 1872 at Furze Hill House was, perhaps, one of the greatest disillusionments that Palmer had received—Goulding had, already, made a reputation for artificial printing of the best kind. The sample sent to him (not his own work) was a fine one. Both he and his clients took artificial printing for granted. Perhaps those clients in the Club expected too much, and therefore did not appoint a committee of two or three members to superintend the printing and the format generally—an obvious and commonsense course.

To this day matters seem to have remained much as they were. The Chinook dialect or "Jargon" was invented in North America to amplify the language of signs (which had reached a marvellous degree of perfection among the aborigines) between the white trappers and traders and the Indians. It does so to perfection. For want of an artistic Chinook, Palmer went through torments at the press. The mysteries, and the beauties, and the marvellous refinements which have been handed down

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by generation after generation of eminent artists, in lectures, in books, and at the easels of disciples and students, need for their expression a language of their own. If the painter-etcher desires to explain himself at the press-side he cannot use the language of Sir Joshua Reynolds, of William Blake, or of the Shoreham "Ancients;" and so, he totally fails. Palmer wrote "Process 1874 D.V. for Etching, get first the great leading *pathetic* lines, having first obtained the same in the figures." Then he worked on without a glance at the calendar—on and on, till he made "the effect ring." Imagine him trying to explain these things, as the printer Martin blew the froth from a pot of beer at lunch time.

In a way, William Blake was as much responsible for the failures and the evils in etching practice and printing which overtook Palmer, up to and including 1872, as he was for other episodes which many would have classed as disastrous. Blake's most earnest disciple was just the same in all essential matters when he was denouncing the blue in old Martin's wretched ink, and the whiting on Martin's heavy paw, as when he received, from Blake's own sacred hand, the signed proof of Philips's Pastorals (No. 28) now in this exhibition. Maybe he had seen Kate, fresh from the wash-tub, turning the star of the old wooden press,[1] and precious proofs of the *Job* issuing therefrom.

THE BELLMAN

Catalogue, nos. 211–216

On the 4th of August 1879 my father wrote to Hamerton as follows:—"Pricked already with etching like a full pincushion, your last letter burst my sides as with a packing-needle! How can I possibly touch copper again for eight months to come, with drawings in hand which ought to have been sent home years ago? Etching, that wheedling hussy . . . has already made me rob my long-suffering employers of time which really belonged to them . . . Some have fancied themselves to be tea-pots; others fragile glass. What am *I* but a broken etching-needle with its wrong end wedged into a paint-pot? It is *my* misfortune to work slowly, not from any wish to niggle, but because I cannot otherwise get certain shimmerings of light, and mysteries of shadow. . . .

"I am very glad that you like my *Bellman*. . . . It is a breaking out of village-fever long after contact—a dream of that genuine village where I mused away some of my best years, designing what nobody would care for, and contracting among good books, a fastidious and unpopular taste. I had no room in my *Bellman* for that translucent current, rich with trout, a river not unknown to song. . . . But there were all the village appur-

[1] This press was afterwards sold, for Blake's widow, by Linnell.

tenances—the wise-woman behind the age, still resorted to; the shoemaker always before it, such virtue is in the smell of leather; the rumbling mill, and haunted mansion in a shadowy paddock, where sceptics had seen more than they could account for; the vicarage with its learned traditions; and Wordsworth brought to memory every three hours by

> '—— the crazy old church clock
> And the bewilder'd chimes. . . .'"

Once again he wrote to the same correspondent, on October 13, 1879: "It does sadden me not to have touched a needle since Mr. Bellman's suit was stitched together, nor to have any chance of doing so for some time to come . . . but if I once get free and have my present reasons for thankfulness as to health, then welcome once more dear teazing, tickling coppers; may we never part again till the great change come when Æsthetics and the Intellectual will be of little moment, and the MORAL all in all."

The Bellman plate received thirteen bitings, and the usual thorough stopping out between them. The temperature of the mordant varied from 61° to 85°. After the first biting, the needle work was nearly doubled, and more was added after the second, third and seventh. The plate was proved by me at our press and was finished without catastrophe. The publishers were to be supplied, as far as possible, with impresssions of my own printing. Once, in an emergency, I had to break the rule, with the result that some, printed elsewhere, were returned as being too bad to sell. Thus little by little, the functions of the press and my own work were enlarged far beyond the original scheme, and even that had seemed a daring scheme.

THE LONELY TOWER

Catalogue, nos. 217–220

In the order of publication, the second plate of the series which was not to be, was *The Lonely Tower*. There were fourteen bitings and the same elaborate stopping out. On the whole, the first proof satisfied the etcher, but justified re-biting. The re-biting ground having proved unreliable, a second was laid, and, after biting, a proof was taken which is now in the exhibition. (See No. 218.) It is the only one I know of.

This plate having been promised to the Etching Club, appeared as an abominable parody of the sample proof in the work published in 1880. Of the result Palmer wrote: "So the dear old Etching Club revives on the 15th. I love it though it has quite smashed me by the way my *Lonely Tower* has been printed. Full directions were sent to the printer, and a model proof, but in vain." This printer was not Goulding, but a gentle-

man of such august presence, and (in his own eyes) such unapproachabl skill, that, apparently, he was above sample proofs. He evolved his own atrocities in his own way. So he murdered *The Lonely Tower*.

Of this plate it appears that I took a good many proofs in progress, each distinguished by some letter or otherwise, and each recording a distinct state. But no notes were kept of them, because, with the exception of a few well-marked differences, my father was not interested in the states of his plates.

The first designs for *The Bellman* and *The Lonely Tower* were in sepia, and one of them is in the exhibition. (See No. 154.) Finished replicas were made in water-colours and were formerly in the possession of Miss Augusta Smith, of Tunbridge Wells.

OPENING THE FOLD

Catalogue, nos. 221–227

The connection gradually formed between my father's etching schemes and his *English Version of the Eclogues of Virgil*, has been described elsewhere. At first any such connection was not intended, and some rather over-elaborate designs were made in pen-and-ink with a view to one or other of the reproductive processes then coming into use. He first mentioned the subject to Hamerton (his only outside confidant) in January 1872. In the reply, there was a discouraging reference to the fate of books depending in any way on copper-plate printers; the chief danger then, and one, it seems, still besetting the etcher to this day. Hamerton wrote:—"What a murderous thing bad printing is for etchings. A new edition of a book of mine with 37 of my own little plates has just been published in America. The plates were printed in London, and so ignorantly, stupidly and hideously that I was quite unable to bear the sight of the book and stuck it into the fire, where I would stick every other copy of the same edition, if I could only get at them all. I will never trust an etching again in the hands of any tradesman printer. To print an etching a man ought to be an artist." This letter was written before the advent of my father's private press, but after the beginning of the end of the Etching Club, when he was mourning over what appeared to be the farewell to his favourite means of expressing himself.

The effect of such strong language must have been to increase his desire for light on process work. The advent of the press, and of such an extraordinary teacher as Goulding, entirely altered the outlook, and etching was decided on for the Virgil subjects. But at first Palmer loathed, he said, the idea of any illustrations at all. Afterwards they became his "all-absorbing study." Always thinking in monochrome,

always yearning for needle and acid, etching beguiled him, and the character of the designs was changed.

He was now intellectually vigorous, and entirely free from all but the normal infirmity of a sedentary man of his age, always unused to active exercise. He seemed to have escaped unusually well the effects of old age on the judgment and manipulative dexterity. Having completed twelve plates in about thirty years, he, now, at the age of seventy-four, deliberately made preparations and bought the plates for ten more. For this temerity the efficiency of his own press and the unwonted complaisancy of the mordant, compared with its old vagaries, must have been responsible.

The first of the intended ten is known as *Early Morning*, or *Opening the Fold*; but it really illustrated some lines in the *English Version of the Eclogues*.

The bitings began on the 16th of August 1880, and were eleven in number before the first proof was taken.

The reception of this, Palmer's last finished etching, was, once again, cordial. Mr. Hamerton wrote of it:—"It seems to me that this is the most completely beautiful of all Samuel Palmer's etchings. . . . It is full of air and space, the eye wanders over it for miles, and yet at the same time there is a sweet solemnity in it. . . . My own first impression was wonder that a man of Palmer's age should have been able to execute such a piece of work. To say that there is no trace of decadence in that plate would be true but not true enough. The plate is the perfect consummation of Palmer's experience, knowledge, and manual power. A fine proof of it is the high-water mark of that particular kind of etching." The following is an extract from the letter written to my father by Hamerton in January 1881:—"I have been quite delighted to receive an impression of your last plate. We all think here that it is the finest you have ever done. It is perfectly sound all through and rings as true as a bell in all its tones. I do not see how any etching of that class could be better technically, and besides that the subject is most poetical. I am surprised by the skill with which you have dealt with such a great expanse of distance, a great difficulty in all the arts. It must be a great satisfaction to you that although, as you say, you produce but little as an etcher that little should be of such superlative excellence; still I wish that I had just enough power over you to make you finish the Virgil series; I would exercise it with gentle but unrelaxing tyranny until the whole were done."

The publication of *Opening the Fold* in the *English Version of the Eclogues* led to a singular mistake on the part of a reviewer in one of the principal periodicals. With his verdict on my share in the illustrations of that book I have, long since, entirely agreed; but he did not stop there. He took for comparison two plates, one a photogravure illustrating

the seventh Eclogue, the other the above etching illustrating the eighth. He referred to the photogravure as an etching finished entirely by Samuel Palmer, and to *Opening the Fold* as an inferior photogravure made still more inferior by me. Furthermore, he wrote that the difference between the photogravure which he erroneously supposed to be an original etching, and the etching which he erroneously supposed to be a photogravure, was "too marked to escape even the most untrained eye." Unaware that photogravures, as well as etchings, were made on copper plates, he condemned fine-art publishers in general for placing round the facsimiles a sham plate-mark.

Among the strong observations which the criticism brought forth, the following was contributed to *The World* by Whistler:

> *Apropos* of Mr. Samuel Palmer's 'Eclogues of Virgil.' Atlas,—They have sent me the *Spectator*, a paper upon which our late 'Arry lingered to the last as art-critic. In its columns I find a correspondent calling aloud for our kind intervention. Present me, brave Atlas, to the editor, that I may say to him:
>
> "Good Sir,—'Your reviewer' is doubtless my unburied 'Arry. Why, then, should 'his mistaking a photogravure reproduction of a pen-and-ink drawing by Samuel Palmer for a finished etching by the same hand' seem 'to say the least of it, astounding'?
>
> "Not at all! By this sort of thing was he known among us, poor chap—and so was he our fresh gladness and continued surprise.
>
> "Did I not make historical his enchanting encounter with Mr. Herkomer's water-colour drawing of Mr. Ruskin at the Grosvenor, which he described as the 'first oil-colour portrait we have of the great master?' Amazing that, if you like!
>
> "Do not all remember how we leaped for joy at the reading of it?
>
> "Even Atlas himself laughed aloud, and, handicapped as he is with The World and weighted with wisdom, danced, upon his plinth, a slow measure of reckless acquiescence, as I set down in the chronicles of all time that 'Arry, 'unable by mere sense of smell, to distinguish between oil and water-colour, might at least have inquired; and that either the fireman, or the guardian in the Gallery could have told him not to blunder in the *Times*.'
>
> "But no, he never would ask—he liked his pot-shots at things; it used to give a sort of sporting interest to his speculations upon pictures. And so he was ever obstinate—or anyone at The Fine Art Society would have told him the difference between an etching and a photograph. I am, good Sir, yours, &c.
>
> Atlas, *à bientôt!*
>
> J. McNeill Whistler.
>
> St. Ives, Cornwall, Jan. 25, 1884.

Although the plate of *Opening the Fold* was destined to be my father's last, all his enthusiasm was now focussed on the scheme for no fewer than nine more, and several were begun.

It became necessary for me, as an R.A. student, to live in London, and as the number of proofs needed increased, to set up a printing-room there. My father now regarded what he called "Your kind of printing" as a very serious matter, of which the mechanical part was the least. He considered the work to be allied to some of the difficult problems of art,

and thoroughly endorsed Hamerton's highly expert opinion that "to print an etching a man ought to be an artist," at all events by training. The work, he thought, needed "solitude" and "a locked door." I was to work "with the balances in my hand," weighing the directions he sent me by post, and which he trusted to me to interpret.

Before his death he wrote, "I am glad you have begun the still life, to get the 'oyster' relish of reality you must expect to suffer much. No one can clear away the brambles without getting thorns into his fingers —and I do not think anyone can get his living without a struggle. The painter's and the poet's struggles are solitary and patient; silent and sublime. 'I tremble when I sit down to paint a flower,' said W. Hunt."

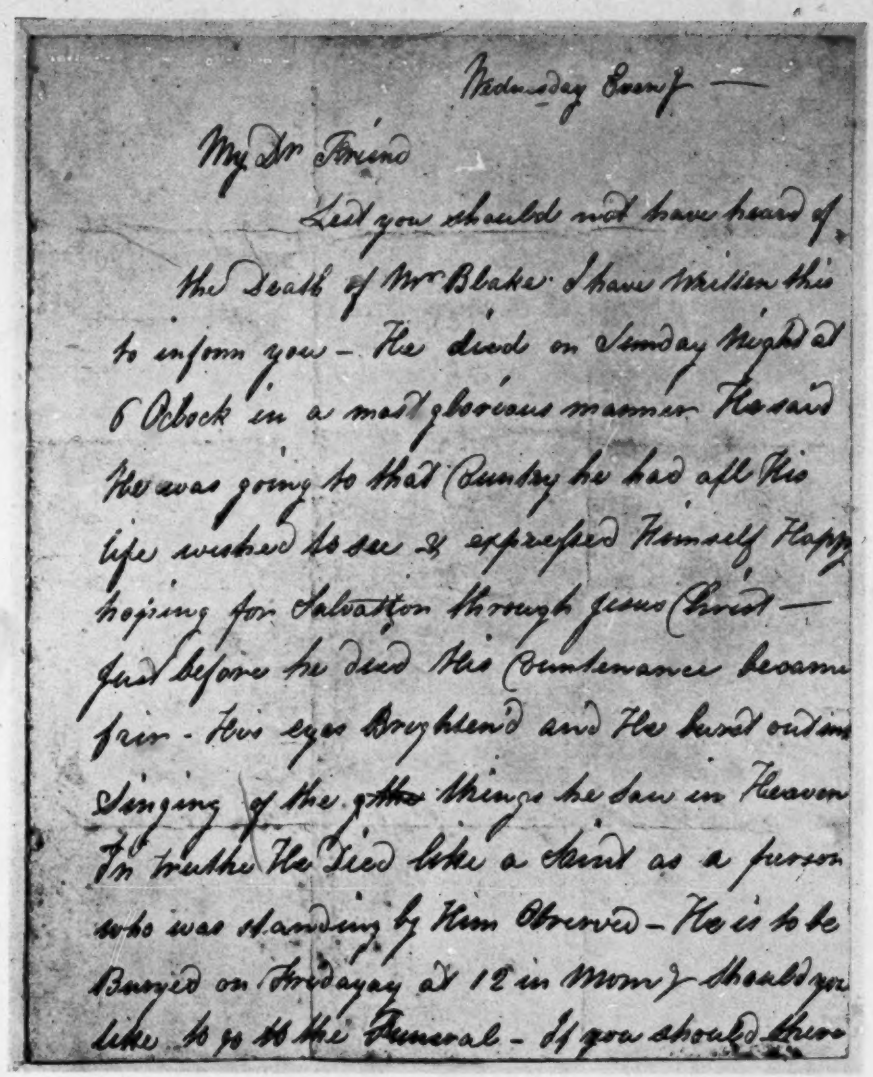
Nine weeks later, with his little box of *Virgil* plates within reach of his feeble hand, he died.

A. H. Palmer.

Additional Notes.

General Note on the Etchings.—Although some of the best impressions of his etchings were sold or given away by Samuel Palmer, nearly all those which I have contributed to this Exhibition were, for various reasons, among his especial treasures. They also represent many days of intense agony and "grated consciousness" by the side of the inanimate and animate machines which he had to deal with. Of the various states I myself know little. For that knowledge "The Trio" must be consulted.—A.H.P.

Note on No. 218, *etc.*—Many of my chests were stored in a great warehouse over hay, bonded liquor and dynamite safety-fuse. It was there that I lost the working proofs of the *Virgil* plates and many other precious things. Risks they had encountered for twenty years, from their sojourn in a Kentish village, to the Land's End; but none approached those which menaced when I was fool enough to bring the collection now catalogued, here, to this City of Vandalism almost impossible to realize in volume and vileness. It is a city which is almost daily reported (with weird fanfares of its newspaper experts) to be one of the great Art centres of the American Continent, if not of the world. Twice have the works of the "Ancients" and their Master crossed that Continent and the Atlantic Ocean. What would the recluse of "Rat Abbey" have said if he could have foreseen that, in the far future, his *Ruth* would have journeyed fourteen thousand miles; and then at last have found shelter in the great Victoria and Albert Museum? Time after time she has been menaced by land-clearing fires (necessary to destroy every tree and fern and every wildflower), but now she can, God willing, rest in peace.—A.H.P.

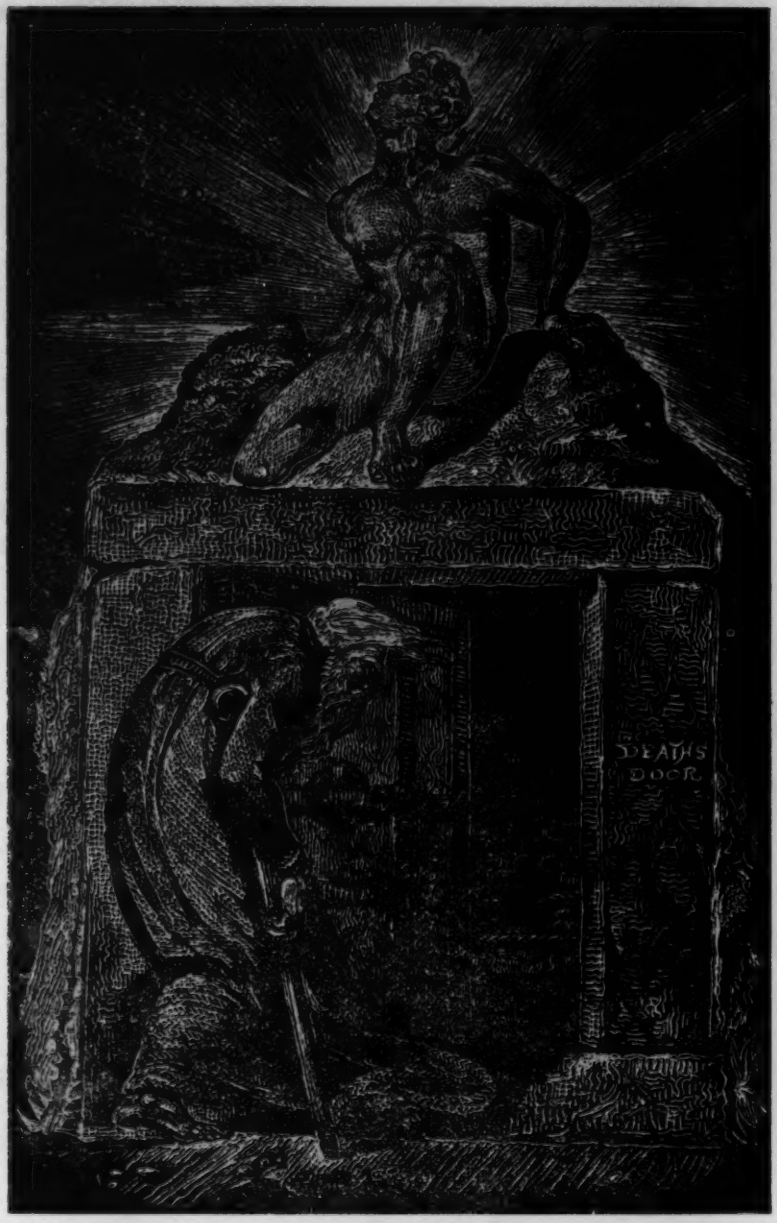


Wednesday Evening —

My Dr Friend

Lest you should not have heard of the Death of Mr Blake I have Written this to inform you — He died on Sunday Night at 6 Oclock in a most glorious manner He said he was going to that Country he had all his life wished to see & expressed himself Happy hoping for Salvation through Jesus Christ — just before he died his Countenance became fair - His eyes Brightend and He burst out in singing of the things he saw in Heaven In truth He Died like a Saint as a person who was standing by Him Observed — He is to be Buryed on Friday at 12 in Morning Should you like to go to the Funeral — If you should there

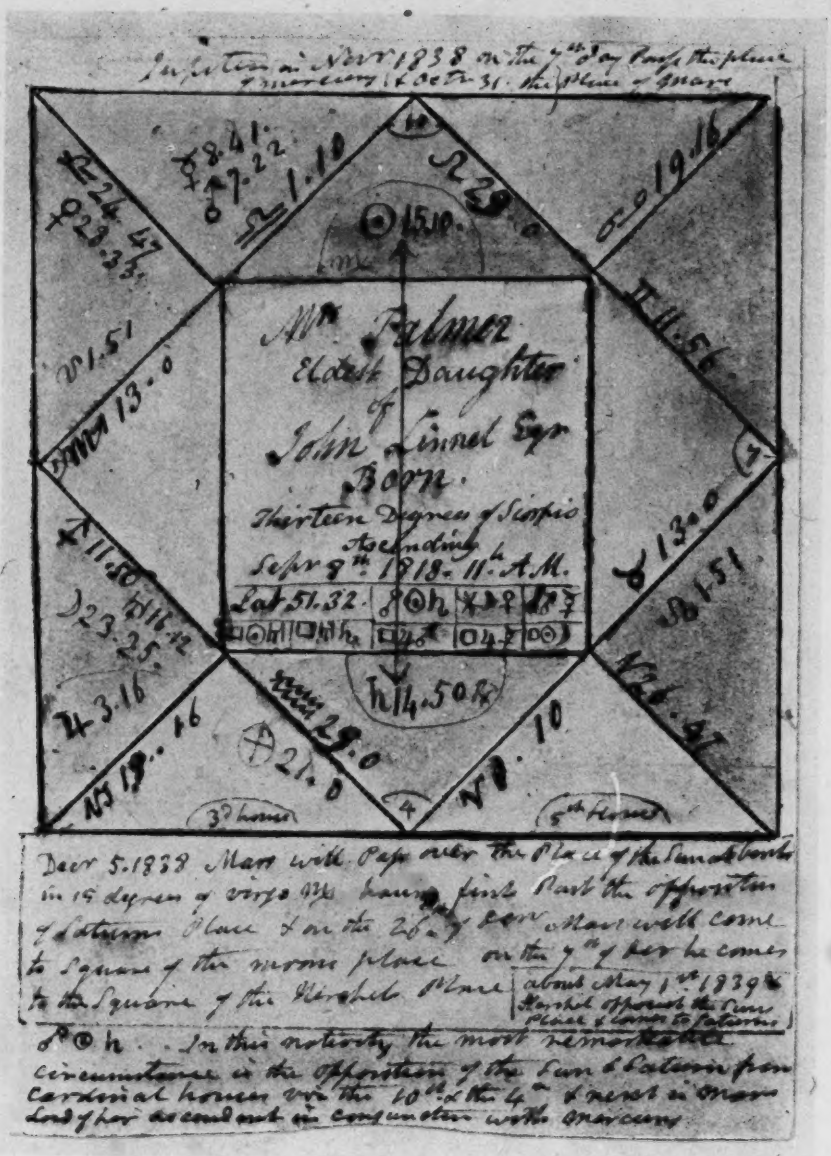
II. LETTER FROM GEORGE RICHMOND TO SAMUEL PALMER ANNOUNCING THE DEATH OF WILLIAM BLAKE.



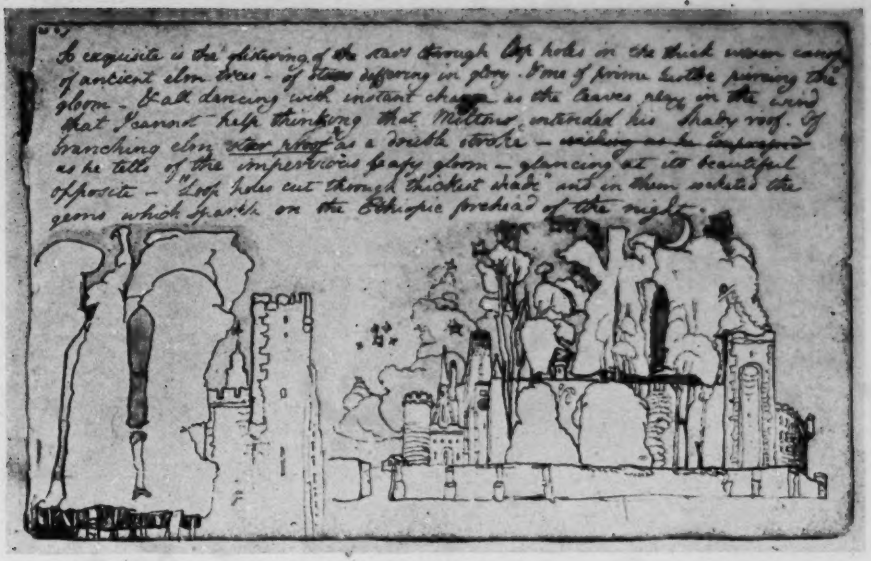
27. WILLIAM BLAKE. DEATH'S DOOR.
Engraving.

36. EDWARD CALVERT. THE CYDER FEAST. Wood-engraving.

37. EDWARD CALVERT. THE PLOUGHMAN. Wood-engraving.


Mrs Palmer
Eldest Daughter
of
John Linnel Esqr
Born
Thirteen Degrees of Scorpio
Ascending
Sepr 9th 1818. 11h A.M.
Lat 51.32
Dec 5.1838 Mars will Pass over the Place of the Sun at Noon
in 15 degrees of virgo
about May 1st 1839
Herschel Opposed the Sun
Place & came to Saturns
In this nativity the most remarkable
circumstance is the Opposition of the Sun & Saturn from
Cardinal Signs viz the 10th of the 4th & near to Mercury
Lord of her Ascendant in Conjunction with Mercury

44. HOROSCOPE OF HANNAH PALMER.


So exquisite is the glistening of the stars through the holes in the thick mossy canopy of ancient elm trees - of these differing in glory - One of prime lustre piercing the gloom - & all dancing with instant change as the leaves play in the wind that I cannot help thinking that Milton intended his shady roof. Of branching elm star poor as a double storke - wishing as he compares as he tells of the impervious leafy gloom - glancing at its beautiful opposite - "drop holes cut through thickest shade" and in them wakeful the gems which Earth on the Ethiopic forehead of the night.

50. LEAVES (2) FROM A SKETCH-BOOK.

53. THE TIMBER-WAGGON. Water-colour.

55. THE WEALD OF KENT. Water-colour.

58. RUTH. Chalk and wash.

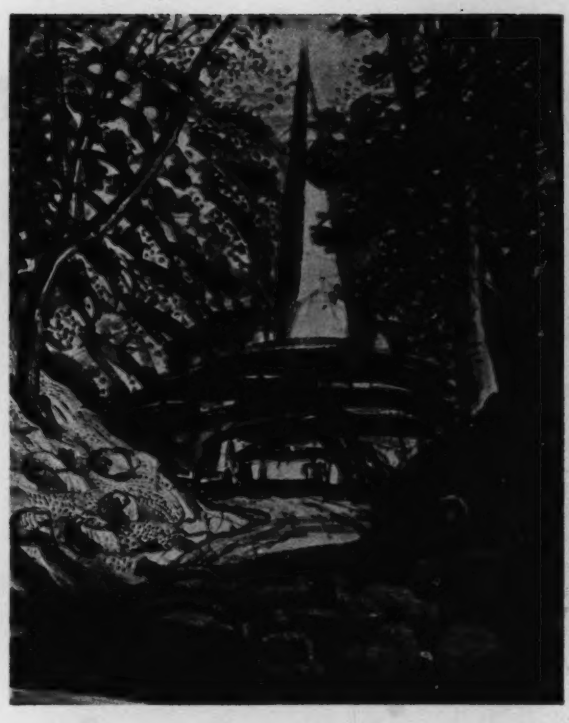
74. THE PRIMITIVE COTTAGE. Pen and wash.

65. ORANGE TWILIGHT. Pen and water-colour.

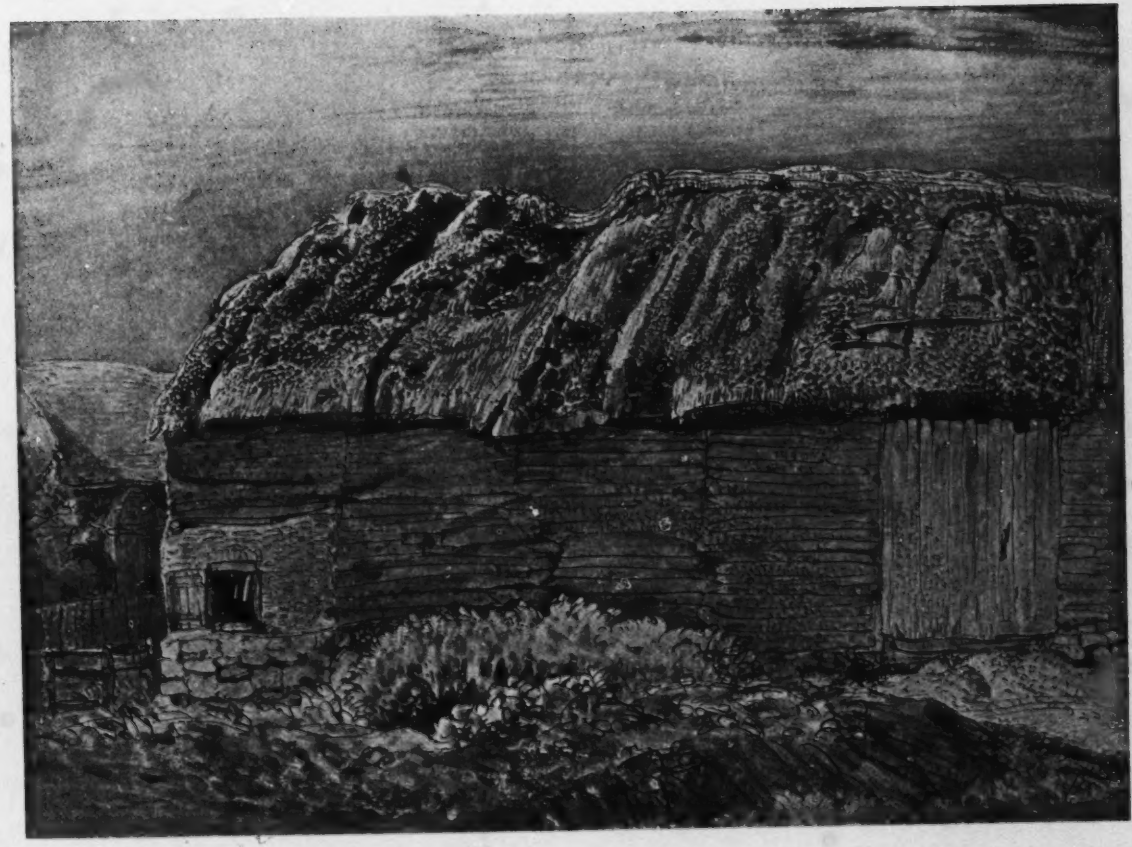
76. SUNSHINE AND SHADOW. Sepia.

71. SHEPHERD AND FLOCK. Sepia.

81. Sepia Drawing.



82. Sepia Drawing.

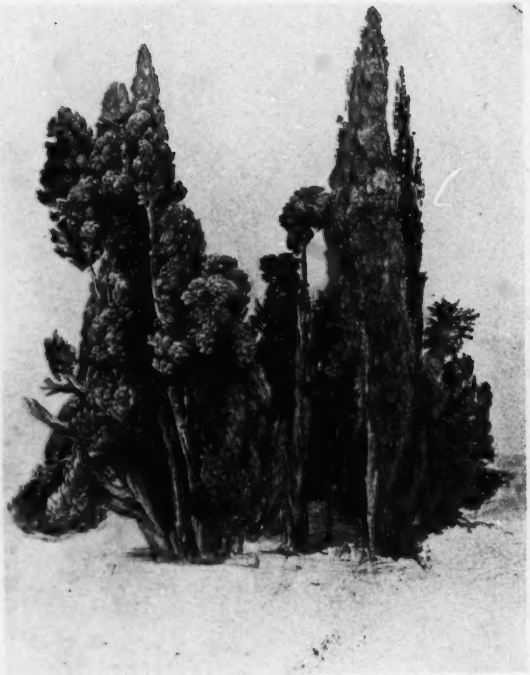


85. A Barn, Shoreham. Water-colour.

91. VESUVIUS. Water-colour.

103. STORM ON THE COAST OF CORNWALL. Water-colour.

95. Near Underriver, Kent. Water-colour.

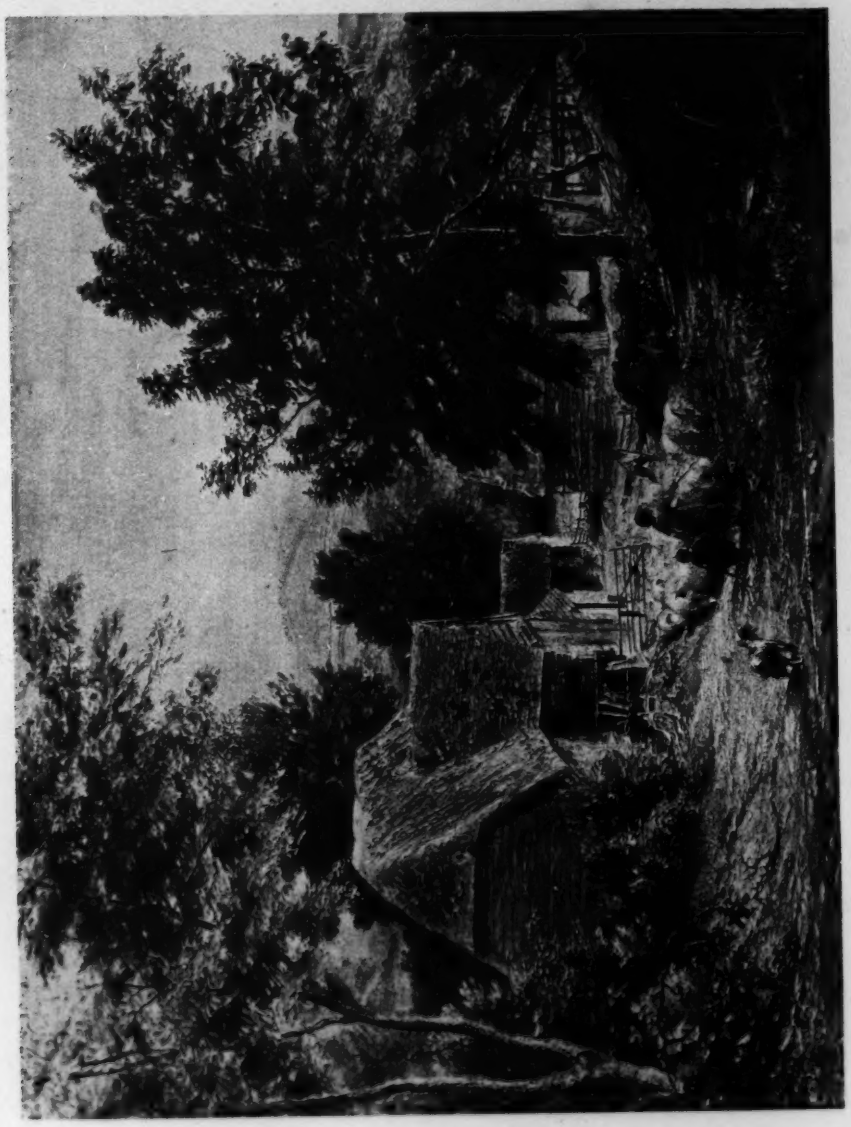


92. CYPRESSES AT THE VILLA D'ESTE.
Water-colour.

115. YEW TREE AT DOLWYDDELAN.
Pencil.

49. HAILSHAM. STORM COMING ON. Water-colour.

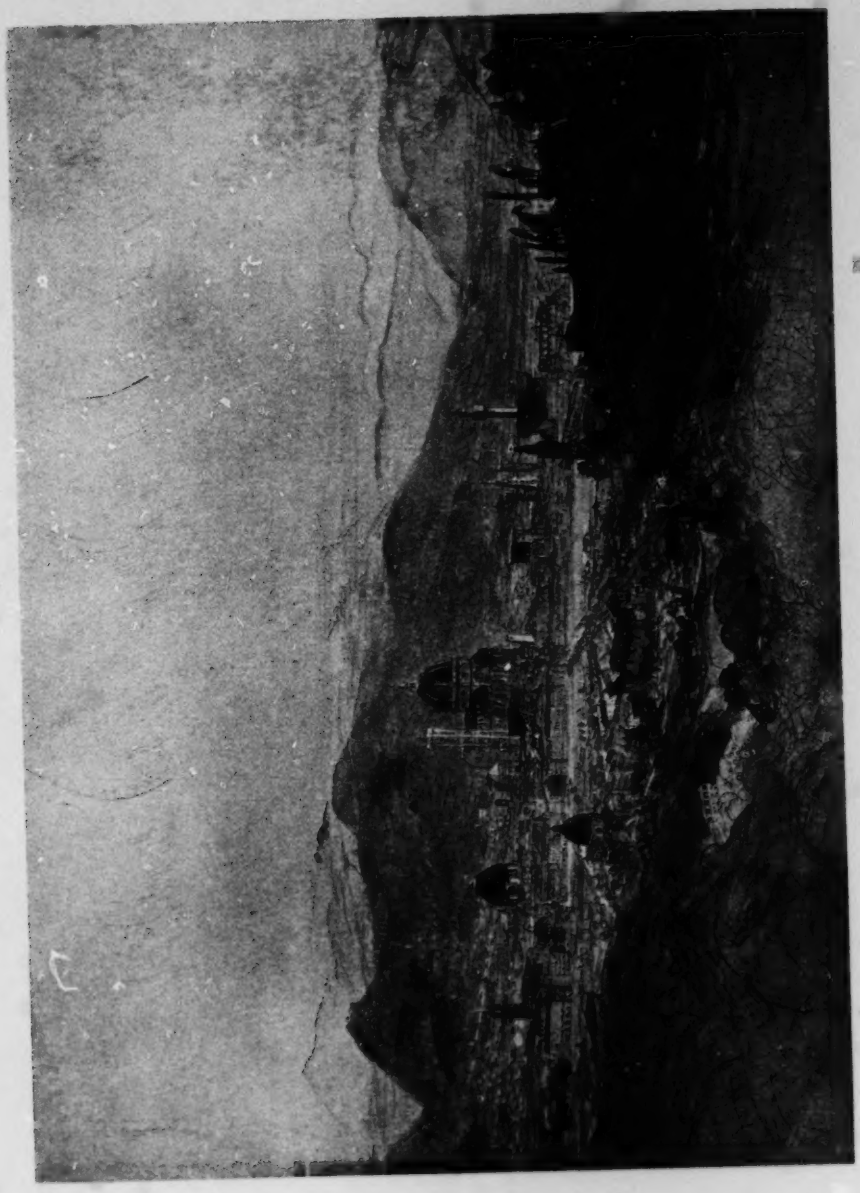
119. GOING HOME AT CÛRFEW TIME. Water-colour.



121. A FARMYARD NEAR PRINCES RISBOROUGH. Water-colour.

131. MOUNTAIN STREAMS. Water-colour.

124. A HARVEST FIELD. Water-colour.



125. FLORENCE. Water-colour.

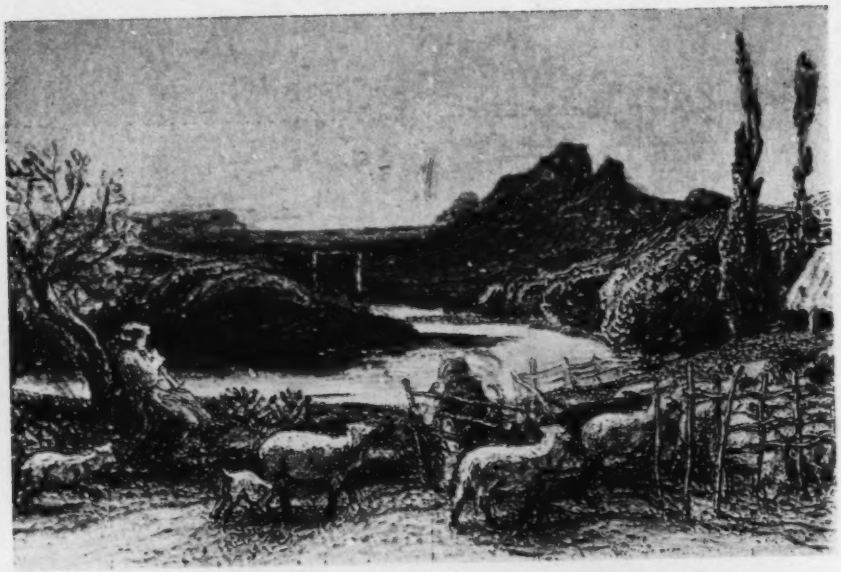
127. THE VILLA D'ESTE. Water-colour.

130. HASTING TO COVERT. Water-colour.

128. THE SHINING RIVER. Water-colour.

139. DESIGN FOR VIRGIL'S THIRD ECLOGUE.
Pencil and water-colour.

136. DESIGN FOR VIRGIL'S SECOND ECLOGUE. Sepia.



142. DESIGN FOR VIRGIL'S SIXTH ECLOGUE. Water-colour.

145. DESIGN FOR VIRGIL'S SEVENTH ECLOGUE.
Pen and charcoal, touched with white.

152. THE EASTERN GATE. Sepia.

155. THE WATERS MURMURING. Chalk and wash.

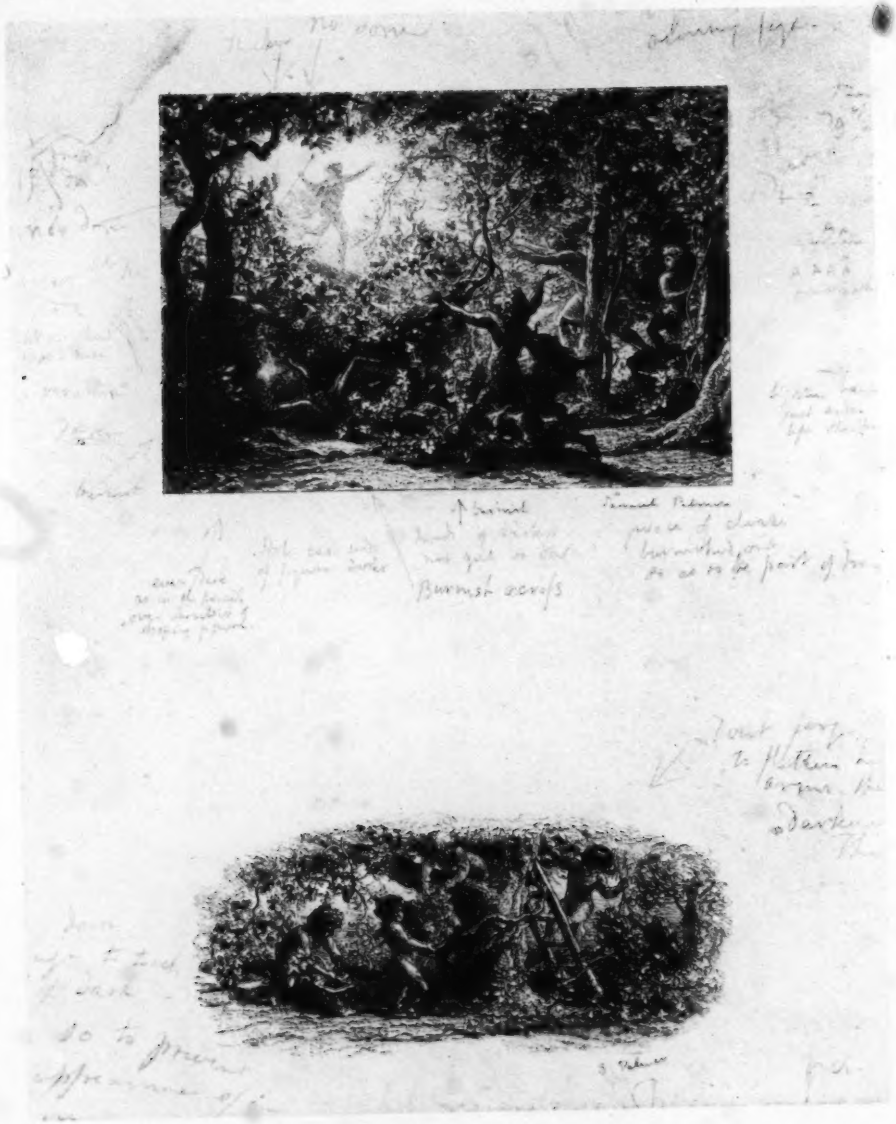
153. THE TOWERED CITY. Sepia.

158. THE WILLOW. Etching.

164. THE SKYLARK. Etching.

173. CHRISTMAS. Etching.

181. THE SLEEPING SHEPHERD. Etching.



178. THE VINE. Etching.

189. THE HERDSMAN. Etching. Working proof.

194. THE HERDSMAN. Etching. Published state.

196. THE EARLY PLOUGHMAN. Etching. Working proof.

198. THE EARLY PLOUGHMAN. Etching. Published state.

203. THE MORNING OF LIFE. Etching. Working proof.

210. THE MORNING OF LIFE. Etching. Published state.

154. THE BELLMAN. Original Design for the etching.

215. THE BELLMAN. Etching. Published state.

168. THE HERDSMAN'S COTTAGE. Etching.

220. THE LONELY TOWER. Etching.

224. OPENING THE FOLD. Etching.

186. THE RISING MOON. Etching.